

SHALL WE VOTE FOR AL?

THE WORLD TOMORROW

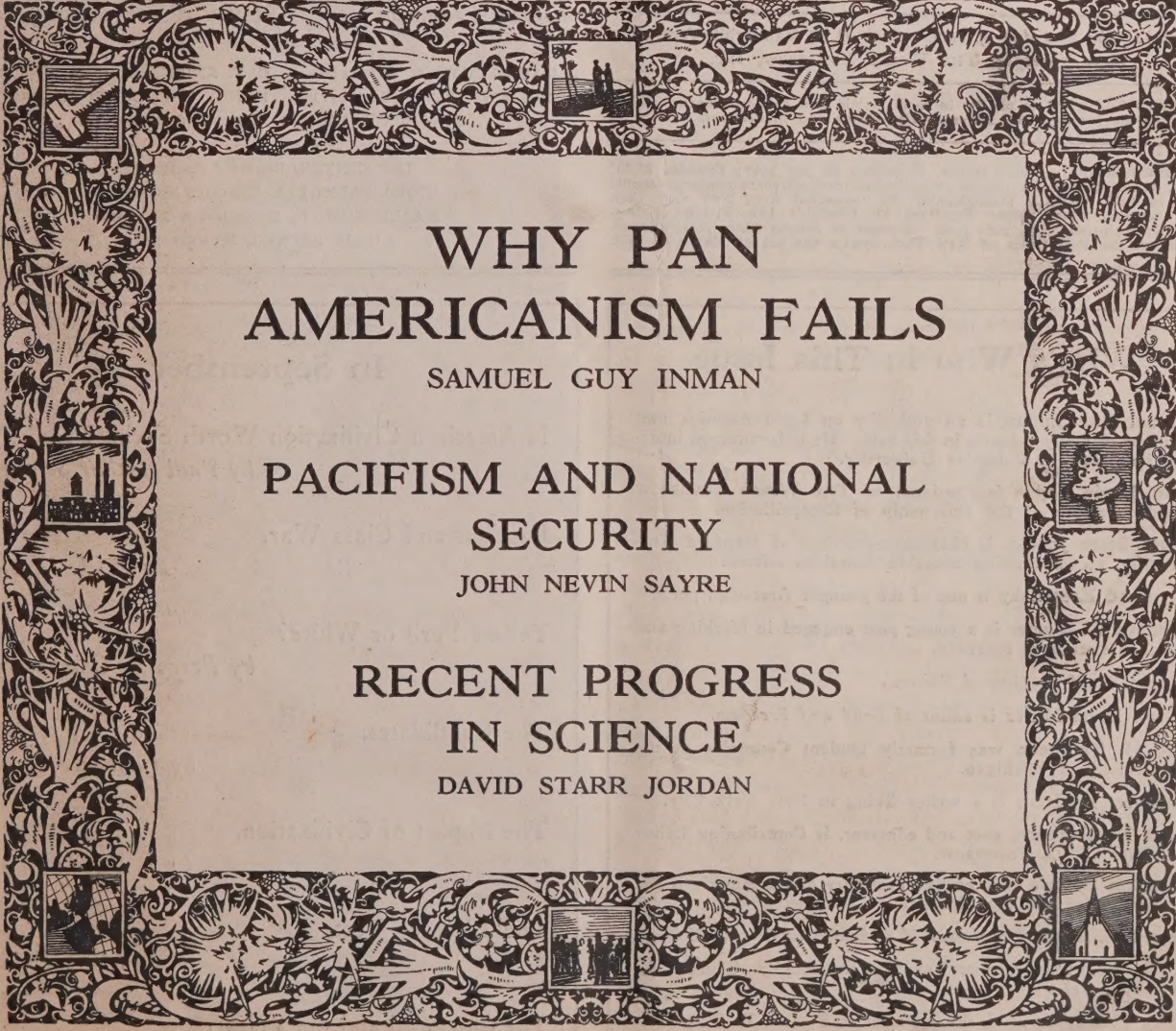
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AUGUST, 1928

No. 8



WHY PAN AMERICANISM FAILS

SAMUEL GUY INMAN

PACIFISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

RECENT PROGRESS IN SCIENCE

DAVID STARR JORDAN

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The World Tomorrow

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In September

Is American Civilization Worth Saving?

by Paul Arthur Schilpp

Pacifism and Class War,

by A. J. Muste

Yellow Peril or White?

by Percy L. Clarke, Jr.

The Candidates,

by Laurence Todd

The Impact of Civilization,

by J. B. Mathews

The Literacy Test,

by Mary Fagin

The Shepherd and the Vultures,

by Samuel . . . on

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI.

August, 1928

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Editorials

Shall We Vote for Al?

The convention at Houston, filled with hokum as it was, seemed an advance over the smug hypocrisy of Kansas City. In its plank against intervention in Nicaragua and in its declaration for Philippine independence, the platform constitutes also an improvement. However, there is little else of a straightforward character to be found in it. It is silent on the League, is not explicit on the important details of outlawry, and is evasive on other aspects of international relations. In general and especially with regard to the tariff it more closely approximates the Republican platform than has been the case, despite a steady trend in that direction, before. Notwithstanding a livelier interest in the farmer than shown by the Republicans, the Democrats are scarcely less vague on farm relief.

There is strong appeal, to short-sight, in the candidacy of Governor Smith. Not only is he an eminently likable person, with a keen mind and a directness that stamps him as more of a "squareshooter" than most experienced politicians; he is besides all this fully as capable an administrator as Mr. Hoover. He possesses political imagination, a certain vision, and an ability to dramatize important public questions that arouses great masses of people to enthusiasm. His terms as Governor have marked him a proponent of welfare legislation of the kind desired by many social workers. As much as any machine politician can be, he is a champion of better housing, industrial safeguards for women and children, adequate care of the sick and the insane, and recreational facilities for the poor. He has advocated a more enlightened scheme for the scientific treatment of criminals than ever put forward, probably, by any public official. He is a demonstrated believer in free speech and civil liberties, an issue of vital importance to minority groups of all kinds. Aside from the question of his religion, which we deem of scant if any relevance in his case at least, he will be attacked for his Wet position and his connections with Tammany. It is our view that nothing Al Smith could actually get done at Wash-

ington would make the country appreciably wetter than it has been under the present "Dry" regime, or than it would likely be under the doubtfully Dry administration of a Hoover; and though we ardently desire a Dry President, we prefer Wet candor to Dry dissimulation.

It is true that Smith has increasingly shown his independence of Tammany, and that Tammany is no worse, and probably better, than such Republican machines as those of Big Bill Thompson and Boss Vare. We hold, all the same, that it is high time decent voters ceased to support corrupt political machines altogether. We are convinced that the best interests of the country will not be served by upholding Al as the deliverer from Republican misrule and Hooverized big business. Al himself has betrayed great anxiety lest big business worry about his candidacy. His opposition to Republican water power steals has not driven away the support of certain power interests, nor has he ever touched the roots of the problem, which involve the socialization of our vast power resources. He has failed to assert himself, when he ought to have, against the abuse of anti-labor injunctions by Tammany judges. He has not been above vetoing bills for the establishment of voting machines, thus aiding Tammany in New York to retain for a while one important tool—the paper ballot—in their perennially crooked election thuggery.

In their attitude toward the Negro, both parties are scandalously cynical, though in some respects the Democrats have to carry the heavier burden of guilt. In their general economic and social viewpoints, Republicans and Democrats today are more than ever Tweedledee and Tweedledum. On most things that concern the average citizen, it makes infinitely less difference than it ought whether our next President is Alfred C. Hoover or Herbert E. Smith.

It matters a great deal, however, whether the groundwork be slowly laid for a revision of political status in the United States; whether elections may come to be based on genuine issues; and whether a party shall yet arise to prominence voicing the aspirations of those who believe in an equitable distribution of the

necessary and good things of life, who seek a warless world, who demand the vitalization of our political institutions. Those who possess vision and who are unafraid of labels may take comfort in the fact that they are not obliged to "throw away their votes" either for Hoover or for Smith, but may vote for a candidate about whose high purpose they need have no secret qualms, and in the development of whose program rests to no slight degree the achievement of a just, coöperative social order. That candidate is Norman Thomas.

Wanted: A New Scandal Expert

The high mogul of the super-patriots—Fred R. Marvin, Director of the Key Men of America—has been thoroughly discredited and humiliated. Senator Walsh, of Montana, ridiculed him in the United States Senate last February; but it remained for Mr. Marvin to ruin himself by his own testimony in a court of law. He has been proclaimed as the most reliable and as the best informed man in the United States on radical and subversive movements. He has repeatedly avowed in print that not a line has been produced to disprove any of his statements, and some people were led to believe that his information was official. So-called patriotic organizations, such as the D. A. R., have been using him as their principal source of "authentic" information.

But last month in the Supreme Court of New York County he testified that he has intentionally misquoted and that he is not a government agent. He revealed his work to be of such a nature that the jury of twelve men unanimously agreed that he had spread lies maliciously in the case of Mme. Rosika Schwimmer and gave a verdict against him of \$17,000 libel damages.

The Lusk Report also fared badly in the case. Even Mr. Marvin himself admitted that it was not trustworthy, and although its official sounding title was used frequently it failed to impress the jury.

The character of the man is revealed in his testimony to the effect that he had no regret for having hurt Mme. Schwimmer by spreading false accusations against her. After admitting that some of the statements against her were lies, his lawyer, Mr. Joseph T. Cashman, of the National Security League, asked the jury for a verdict in his favor on the basis of his magnificent patriotism, winding up his summary with the plea, "My country right or wrong." And now that the verdict is in, Mr. Marvin complains about the gross unfairness of the jury. "The question, stripped of all camouflage, is Radical Internationalism *versus* Sound Americanism." But the malicious spreading of lies and intentional misquotations did not prove sound Americanism before the law.

Now as he passes the hat for his expenses, it will be a shame if the national officers of the D. A. R. do

not fill it. They have pledged their troth frequently during recent months. Now is their test of loyalty.

Methodist Liberalism

It is rather a common attitude among social liberals and radicals to picture the Methodist church as the perfect symbol of reactionary American Puritanism. In the light of the Kansas City convention of the Methodist church and in view of many other facts in contemporary church life it would be truer to regard the Methodist denomination as the only American church with any large body of liberal opinion. In most of the other denominations social liberalism has degenerated until it savors of the milk and water variety. In the Baptist church there is no one to carry the banner of Rauschenbusch. The Presbyterians are so preoccupied with theological difficulties that they have become indifferent to great social and moral problems. Providence has been unkind to the Episcopal church and no one has arisen to take the places of Bishop Spaulding, Bishop Williams and William Austin Smith. Paul Jones is in the church but not of it. The Disciples have a few individual leaders of social vision but the denomination as such is giving no real attention to social problems. The Lutheran church has never given any real thought to social and economic issues. The Congregationalists are not without social vision but they are without social passion and no heroic word comes from them.

The forces of reaction in the Methodist church are fairly strong. Nevertheless the denomination made a creditable record at Kansas City. It initiated steps which will result in the autonomy of its mission field. It took strong action in regard to church unity. It almost abrogated the life tenure of bishops and revealed a sentiment on this question which must inevitably result in the democratization of the episcopate. It sent its outstanding liberal leader, Bishop McConnell, to become bishop of the New York area. This step is partly a tribute to Bishop McConnell's abilities rather than to his social convictions. Nevertheless it gives the Methodist church a unique leadership in the nation's real capital.

It would be an interesting study to trace the evolution of a church body which a century ago was the religious instrument of our western pioneers and expressed the typical ethical individualism and emotional religious fervor of this class and today has qualified its own traditions sufficiently to express religious idealism in terms relevant to the social and moral needs of an industrial civilization. We do not claim that the Methodist church is a perfect instrument of social idealism; and perhaps distance has lent enchantment to the view. But it does seem that at the present moment the Methodist church is the best we have from the standpoint of giving religion a meaning in terms of the real problems of contemporary society.

Unity for Peace—A Start at Pocono

At the call of the American Friends' Service Committee, representatives of various peace societies spent four days at Pocono Manor Inn, in Pennsylvania, from the 16th to the 20th of June, in a discussion of their special problems. At some of the meetings nearly two hundred were present. Besides addresses, round table and forum discussions were allowed ample time on the program. While unity through understanding was sought, no effort was made to suggest either consolidation or even a joint formulation of objectives. Thus freed from the pressure of the seemingly practical, this conference ranks high in its practical stimulus to those in attendance, and, indirectly, through them to others. It is a far cry from these notably realistic discussions back, say, to such conferences as those at Lake Mohonk originating in 1895. At Lake Mohonk, nevertheless, something of real value for twenty-two years was begun, though scarcely fifty people were present at the initial sessions. If the Friends are persuaded to carry on, as we earnestly hope they will, we predict a gradual growth of these new conferences to a place of high service in the movement to abolish war.

American Peace Ideas

Señor Madariaga, who was formerly chairman of the disarmament committee of the League of Nations and who has recently been enlightening English and American readers with some very astute articles on international problems, has been pointing out that the Kellogg outlawry proposal, which he treats with sympathetic understanding, is a real revelation of the American mind on international affairs. Mr. Kellogg would like to have reservations in regard to defensive as against aggressive wars implied rather than specifically stated. France is anxious for exact definitions, and in this desire she is fairly representative of the whole of Europe.

America, declares Señor Madariaga, can afford to waive definitions. She is able to wage war in Nicaragua without running the risk of having her policy result in a universal conflagration. She is able to do this simply because there is no one on the American continent to dispute her authority. Because of her geographic isolation and her unchallenged power upon this continent she conceives the international problem in much simpler terms than does any European nation. The Spanish critic is not as cynical about this circumstance as are most Europeans. He believes that the tendency of America to reduce the peace problem to very simple terms has its advantages. In the case of the outlawry proposal the advantage is obvious. Any attempt to define aggressive or defensive wars is bound

to vitiate the whole proposal. If the plan is adopted without definition there is always a chance that it may become the occasion for a new type of cooperation for peace between America and Europe in which the stress of circumstance will gradually prompt the nations to incorporate the rather too vague sentiment of the outlawry proposal into instruments of international peace and order. We may really make a contribution to world peace by our simplicity. But meanwhile we ought to realize that it is not virtue but power which prompts us to such simplicity. We refuse to haggle over definitions not because we are so innocent and so much more desirous of peace than Europe but because we can go into Nicaragua and have no one but Sandino to try to stop us.

Propaganda by the Bale

Shut your eyes and imagine the wildest ravings of the wildest soap-box oratory levelled against American big business combines. Multiply it tenfold. Hardly then will you approach the dimensions of such iniquity as the Federal Trade Commission—a conservative body—has unearthed on the part of the power trust. It constitutes nothing less than a conspiracy to corrupt the intelligence of everybody in the country through unreliable statistics and one-sided propaganda on behalf of privately-owned public utilities. In 38 states no fewer than 28 Public Utility Information Associations have been operating. They have introduced into the public schools free pamphlets and warped text-books designed subtly to influence the pupils against criticism of utilities and in favor of unregulated private ownership. They have sought to influence the clergy, chambers of commerce, the press, all kinds of civic organizations, local politicians, college professors, superintendents of schools, and text-book publishers. In countless instances they have been highly successful. College instructors have been induced to write the "correct" kind of books, to edit others, or to re-write objectionable sections of their earlier works, all under one form of bribery or another. The power interests have missed nothing, sparing no one, from children in the schools to the lobby-controlled Congressmen at Washington. The whole sordid story smells to high heaven; but we trust no person who cares for his fellow citizens or his own children will fail to understand the dimensions and significance of this monstrous plot. Something of its spirit is well conveyed in the admonition of one hired propagandist out in Illinois: "My idea would be not to try logic, or reason, but to try to pin the Bolshevik idea on my opponent."

World Youth Peace Congress

Ten years ago this sad world was beginning to realize what a tremendous price it had to pay for those fruitless years of folly that swept millions of promising young men from the peaceful walks of life into the flaming fires of War. Young men were called from their quiet homes to serve God and country, and incidentally to save democracy. Today, ten years later, young men are calling to one another to unite and prevent the world from falling victim once more to the scourge of Mars.

It was in the summer of 1925 that a group of young people laid plans for a World Youth Peace Congress which would bring together representative groups from all parts of the world, to focus the power and enthusiasm of youth upon peace and to discover ways and means for dealing with the problem of war. Gradually the dream passed to others—ambassadors of goodwill went around the world telling about the dream—until groups in all parts of the earth became eager to meet with their fellows to build for peace.

The dream has become a reality, the plans have been executed and the Congress is to be held this summer at Eerde in Holland, August 17—26. Five hundred delegates will be there, representing many nations, races, religions, political theories and cultures. Three hundred and fifty will come from Europe, one hundred from North and South America and fifty from Australia, Asia and Africa.

The United States will be represented by eighty delegates coming from over half the states in the Union. Over 90 per cent of these young people have engaged in some sort of constructive peace work in America and some expect to spend their life bringing this dream to the heart of America. Many will travel in Europe before the Congress studying the economic, social and political conditions of the various countries, while others will go to Geneva, Oxford and Vienna in preparation for the Congress. The American delegation should make a very real contribution to the Congress and to the cause of World Peace and solidarity.

An International Committee composed of representatives from England, France, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Holland and the United States has been directing the organization of the Congress. The British Federation of Youth is acting as the International Secretariat and has done a very admirable job. The Congress is sponsored by established Youth Organizations in the participating countries. The Holland Federation of Youth (*Jongeren-Vredes-Actie*) is preparing the ground in Holland for the reception of the delegates. While at Eerde, the delegates will live very simply, mostly on a vegetable diet and in tents. There will be few addresses and no gallery seats. These dreamers are going about their business in a serious way. The Congress will be divided into com-

missions in order to study the problems bearing upon peace. There are five commissions—social and economic, political, educational, religious and moral, race and minority.

August 23rd—a Tragic Memory

All over the world, in circles high and lowly, men and women of various social views will by millions approach the midnight hour of August 22 with tense nerves, dry lips, and involuntary shudders. Up in Massachusetts young Dante Sacco will recall, in the added stature of a year that has passed, those bitter moments in the arms of his doomed father and the presence of the far-visioned Vanzetti. We do not profess to know what feelings, if any, will stir the bosoms of certain gentlemen by the names of Thayer, Lowell, Grant, Stratton, and Fuller. The earth will roll into a shadow for a bit, and a sense of blight will gnaw at the souls of those who have a reverence for freedom and fair play. The famous case does not die out; Vanzetti's words were indeed prophetic. Nor shall we give an ear to pleas for calm, dispassionate poise. If this be sentimentalism, make the most of it!

Fanny Garrison Villard

Many years ago William Lloyd Garrison wrote, in a sonnet "To a Distinguished Advocate of Peace",

Thou art enlisted in a cause divine,
Which yet shall fill all earth and heaven with joy.
To calm the passions of a hostile world;
To make content and happiness increase;
In every clime to see that flag unfurled,
Long since uplifted by the Prince of Peace;
This is thy soul's desire, thy being's aim,
No barrier can impede, no opposition tame.

It was to William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society and one of our great pacifist pioneers, that the lines were dedicated, although in his later years the abolitionist considered the subject of his lines too easygoing. They fit with absolute appropriateness, however, the great Garrison's great daughter whose recent death takes from the peace movement one of its most vital personalities. Born in Boston in 1844, Mrs. Villard speedily grew into sympathetic relations with her father's work, helping him with the proofs of *The Liberator* and sharing also his views on war, women's rights and equal suffrage, temperance, and race equality. Her energy was remarkable, her mind brilliant, and her nature uncompromising though kindly and pleasant. She was founder of the Women's Peace Society, and until her failing health forbade, was active in a large number of social enterprises.

Why Pan Americanism Fails

SAMUEL GUY INMAN

DURING the recent Pan American Conference at Havana, when all was proceeding as calmly as a May morning and everything official intimated that David and Jonathan were mere amateurs in friendly devotion as compared to the representatives of North and Latin America, I hailed with deliberate Anglo-Saxon bluntness a distinguished Argentine delegate, introduced myself and appealed for help. I was puzzled about this Pan American business, I explained. In twenty years of wandering over the continent I had heard not a little about supposed differences between American nations. Recently having read many virulent editorials, having attended large protest meetings of students, laborers, scientific societies and all kinds of organizations, having watched street processions with belligerent banners all the way from Buenos Aires to Mexico City—and indeed to New York—I had supposed that there were some real differences, like those between Nicaragua and the United States, which were disturbing inter-American amity. But at Havana I was impressed with the remarkable harmony shown in all discussions. I wondered, then, if he could enlighten an innocent bystander on the seeming contradiction. He looked at me, it seemed a full two minutes, then gazed up at the ceiling for a like time, and finally replied, "*Bueno, cosas son cosas*"—Well, things are things!

As a matter of fact the thing that was uppermost in general Pan American thinking at Havana, as well as before and after the Conference, was Nicaragua. For Nicaragua has ceased to be a little backward, unknown country of Central America, with cabbages and kings, mahogany and bankers, carrying on her little struggles off in a corner away from the world's interest. Instead, Nicaragua had suddenly become the subject of more debates in senates and parliaments and public schools, of more resolutions passed by forums and clubs and unions and of more editorial comment, than any other country in the world. Even in Europe and North America, to say nothing of Latin America, a favorite subject for discussion is whether Sandino is a bandit or a patriot; and around the world Nicaragua has become the heroine and Uncle Sam the villain in every ultra-nationalistic or anti-imperialistic group. One who has not been thrown into direct contact with public opinion in all parts of Latin America can not have the least conception of how Nicaragua has become a slogan—a kind of "remember the Maine!"—for all those who believe that the world's next menace following Germany is the United States.

Before the Havana parley it was falsely predicted that Nicaragua would be the principal question there discussed. Many believed that President Coolidge would make a great new declaration, a Coolidge Doctrine equal in importance to the Monroe Doctrine, where he would assure Latin America beyond question of an entirely new democratic position to be taken by his government. During the Conference one of the delegates showed me sheaves of cables he was receiving from all parts of the continent asking that Nicaragua be discussed. This was no doubt true of most of the other delegates. Even the American delegation received a long appeal from the American Federation of Labor. But the only time I remember that the word Nicaragua was mentioned in connection with its recent relations with the United States was on the very last day of debate when Mr. Hughes himself threw open the closet door and snatched it out into the open.

WHAT is the explanation of the fact that the twenty-one countries of America could send to Havana two hundred of their best diplomats and technical advisers to spend five weeks together in discussing inter-American problems and never get to the question which is more discussed than all the other questions combined? It is of course entirely too early to answer. But if future conferences are to be of much value this question ought to be answered and I will risk being the first to attempt it, in the hope that we may finally have the whole truth. Since we are in a day of conferences this important phenomenon ought to help in the study of the technique of conference as well as in the understanding of inter-American relations.

Some people believe the discussion of Nicaragua was avoided by the careful, wise, not to say secret, pulling of diplomatic wires by Mr. Hughes. This was the opinion largely of the American newspaper men, many of whom made Mr. Hughes the hero of every committee session and both the lead and the climax of every dispatch. Others, at the other extreme, thought that every time a Latin American delegate said a favorable word for the United States it had been suggested in some way by Mr. Hughes. While recognizing that Mr. Hughes played a great part in the Conference and that his personal influence was marked, this explanation seems to overestimate his dominance of the meeting as it underestimates his honesty and credits too little the ability of the Latin delegates.

The two brief discussions of intervention in the abstract happened in this wise: the Conference had pro-

ceeded some three weeks, when in one of the sessions of the committee working on the codification of international law the Peruvian delegate, Dr. Maurtua, brought in certain recommendations to cover the question of intervention which a previous Pan American Conference of Jurists, meeting in Rio de Janeiro, had adopted. The Rio resolution was a simple declaration against all intervention of one American state in the internal affairs of another. The Maurtua report repeated this but added: "but this neither implies the right nor justifies the act of a state to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending states."

Mr. Hughes immediately, with the warmest praise, seconded the report. Then followed a most stinging attack by delegates from Salvador, Argentina, Santo Domingo, Mexico, Guatemala and practically all the other countries except the few particularly bound to the United States, such as Cuba, Nicaragua and Haiti. In probably the most clear-cut statement of all, the Argentine representative, Señor Pueyrredon, declared: "The sovereignty of states consists in the absolute right of entire autonomy within their own borders and complete independence externally. Intervention, diplomatic or armed, permanent or temporary, is an attempt against the independence of states, which is not justified on the ground of protecting national interests."

The subcommittee, with Mr. Hughes as chairman, wrestled for two weeks with the subject but finally it was necessary to report to the Conference that no solution could be found and that it should be passed on to the next Conference, to be held in some four years at Montevideo. Whereupon the Argentine delegation arose and said that it must again register its protest against intervention. In spite of the belief that the subject would not again be discussed most of the Latin American countries followed Argentina in the same condemnation. Taking courage from these declarations Salvador then offered a resolution condemning intervention. Brazil stated that it believed it impossible to arrive at a unanimous agreement. It was then that Mr. Hughes, goaded to the limit, dragged Nicaragua out into the light. He declared:

"We do not wish to govern any territory of any American republic. We merely wish that right, rightfully established, be recognized so that the American continent may be also a continent of international justice."

"Much has been said about Nicaragua lately. There sits the Foreign Minister for Nicaragua (pointing to Dr. Cuadra Pazos). He can tell you, as I can, that we only wish liberty and the independence of Nicaragua to establish a free election leading to stable and independent government."

The Nicaraguan delegate, being suddenly called to protect his protector, said: "In the face of the whole

world we say that we look to the cooperation of the United States for the reintegration of our territory. I make this solemn declaration to the Congress in the solemn trust which Nicaragua has in the promises made by Mr. Coolidge and repeated by Mr. Hughes."*

Believing the advocates of non-intervention were now "on the run" the Peruvian delegates took courage and called the opponents of their resolution bad names. The debate descended into such personalities that the President, Señor Bustamante, called for order and a resolution was passed striking this part of the proceedings from the record. Thus closed practically the last business session of the five weeks' work for Pan American harmony.

THE victory of Mr. Hughes—if it was a victory—in keeping the Nicaraguan question out of the Conference seems to be due to his wise following of the old diplomatic formula—"divide and rule." It was the divisions between the Latin Americans themselves which defeated any constructive action at Havana on the most baffling of all inter-American questions. Mr. Hughes needed to do little more than wisely withhold disapproval of actions which some of his Latin American allies themselves were ready to take.

During the Conference debates Dr. Orestes Ferrara, Cuban ambassador at Washington, made himself the special defender of the United States and led the group who were ready to insinuate bad faith on the part of any delegations whose "minds do not go along with" that of the United States delegation. It seemed doubtful that the attitude of the Cuban government might be explained by its gratitude to the United States for help in the fight for Cuban independence, since at the Santiago Conference the Cuban delegation at times led the opposition to the United States. Perhaps its attitude at Havana was influenced by its plan to extend the present Cuban president's term of office for two years, remembering that when this was previously proposed the Cuban government was notified by General Crowder that it would not be pleasing to the United States.

Several other delegations, because of special relations and pending questions, instructed their delegates not to oppose the United States. The Tacna and Arica question is still the most vital of any international problem to Chile, Peru and Bolivia. Since the fate of those provinces is still likely to be determined in large part by the United States all of those countries desire to court the favor of Uncle Sam. The latter two also are very closely tied economically to the United States. The Nicaraguan and Haitian delegates of course represented governments which had openly declared their willingness to do anything the United States desired and are maintained in power by the latter's military forces. Opposition to the Venezuelan government could probably not be held in check with

* N. Y. World, Feb. 19, 1928.

out the friendship of the United States. So aside from the general feeling that safety is more assured by making friends with a big and powerful neighbor, there were special reasons for several countries adopting this as a conference policy.

WITH Latin America thus divided, a little wisdom as to what not to do was practically all that was needed by Mr. Hughes, to whom the strategy of the United States delegation seemed to be completely intrusted. It was the Peruvian delegate, Dr. Maurtua, who brought to the Conference a resolution which completely took the sting out of the categorical declaration against intervention recommended by the Rio Conference of Jurists. It was the Cuban delegate, Dr. Orestes Ferrara, who pronounced a eulogy on the benefits of intervention. With the delegations of the countries immediately concerned silent, with not even an unofficial delegation protesting, as there had been at the last Conference, the opponents of intervention were forced to sally forth as knights to rescue the lady who seemed to be perfectly content in the keeping of the dragon.

Whether this was the reason, or whether even countries like Argentina, Salvador, Santo Domingo and Mexico, which led the opposition to intervention, were themselves too desirous of the United States' friendship to bring the issue into the practical realm and "go to the mat" on the case of Nicaragua is not clear.

A straight debate on Nicaragua itself instead of on the theoretical question of whether an article against intervention should be inserted in a code of international law would have brought out an expression of public opinion as well as exposed the weakness of the present position of Pan Americanism. Probably in none of the other interventions carried out by the United States have the public and students of international law seen so little justification as in the present one in Nicaragua. It is very difficult to see how any real Pan Americanism can exist unless military operations as now being carried on by foreign forces in a friendly country are to cease or at least to be put under joint control. But here again was exposed the weakness of Pan Americanism as it now exists. The Latin Americans were no more willing than the North Americans to surrender enough of their sovereignty to permit a joint agreement to deal with conditions in a practical mundane life.

Here we have a perfect illustration of the two greatest weaknesses of our Latin American friends—lack of ability to sink local differences in facing a great inclusive issue and insistence on the statement of a perfect theory instead of compromising on a practical formula which recognizes actual conditions.

MOST Latin American governments have already conceded to the United States a certain right of intervening in their internal affairs. Even Salvador, which was one of the most ardent opponents of intervention, has agreed to a North American collector of her customs and a reference to certain American officials of any dispute that might arise over the agreement, in order to secure a loan from United States bankers. Other countries, such as Santo Domingo, Panama, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, have North American collectors of customs or taxes or North American financial advisers. Haiti not only has her finances completely under direction of the United States government, but has an American Commissioner General to advise the entire government. The Platt Amendment in Cuba, the Bryan-Chamorro treaty in Nicaragua and the Hay-Bunau treaty in Panama give elastic and growing rights to the United States to advise these countries on internal questions. The Tacna and Arica question was withdrawn from the League of Nations and referred to the United States. Brazil shifts from England to the United States for her naval mission. Mexican public finance is largely dependent upon her political relations with the United States.

Such political relationships are increasing, not diminishing. The same is true of course of financial relations. And as long as Latin America needs capital and the United States has a superabundance of it, further increase may be expected. As long as the United States is a manufacturing country and Latin America a producer of the raw materials needed to keep our industries going, it may be expected that we will use some kind of pressure to keep the peace anywhere it may be threatened in order to keep railways running, mines open and plantations producing. Furthermore, and most important, in all probability, as long as the present trust in armaments rules the world, so long will the United States use forceful measures, one way or another, to eliminate conditions in any of the countries near the Panama Canal that it may consider to endanger the approaches to that most important point of all our naval strategy.

Every Latin American delegate at Havana certainly must have known all this, and every North American delegate must have known that as long as the United States continued these interventions alone anything like Pan Americanism or anything like mutual confidence on the American continent is impossible. Even such an interventionist as Roosevelt, when he once got into South America and saw the feeling and the strength of those countries, said: "If ever, as regards any country, intervention does unfortunately become necessary, I hope that wherever possible it will be a joint intervention by such powers as Brazil and the United States, without the thought of self-aggrandizement by any of them, and for the common good of the western world."

But neither side at Havana was willing to tackle the question or even remotely discuss the practical aspects of setting up any kind of joint machinery for dealing with the most divisive of all inter-American questions. Europe has gone ahead in working out the question through mandates, joint commissions, joint loans and other concerted action, showing how weak and disorderly countries may receive the aid of more advanced powers without being held at the mercy of any one nation. But in America we still hold to the old pre-war diplomacy. And the United States still

calls for more volunteers to hunt Sandino in Nicaragua and to be ready to act in any country near the Panama Canal where we have a "moral mandate" to see that they conduct elections as we do in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana or Oklahoma. And Latin America still holds her protest meetings, and prints her virulent editorials and organizes her anti-imperialistic societies to condemn the Yankees, while her officials float new loans in New York to pay their way to the numerous new Pan American conferences that the Havana parley decided to call.

Pacifism and National Security

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

PACIFISM, first of all, asks people to consider whether national armament can really conduce to security in a civilization which uses the tools of twentieth century science. No matter what may be said for defense by armament in the past, we believe that it is an utterly obsolete and extremely dangerous way of attempting to attain security now. In the world in which we live and in the decades immediately ahead it is open to the double objection of (1) mounting cost and (2) diminishing effectiveness for defense.

Within the span of forty years, that is, within the lifetime of many of my readers, the United States has increased the annual expenditure for its navy from fifteen million to 318 million dollars. The last session of Congress passed appropriations which mean that every time the hands of the clock traverse twenty-four hours, the United States spends \$2,000,000 upkeep for army and navy. A leading article in the *New York Times*, published in March, 1927, was headed, "War—Man's Greatest Industry." The writer asserted that "preparation to be ready for war constitutes what is actually the greatest industry in the world."

There is also an increasing human cost not measurable in dollars. The machines of war have to be tended by men. The munitions of war have to be manufactured by men and approach is being made more and more toward the drafting of industry and of whole populations for war service. Once wars were fought by professional armies which constituted but a relatively small part of any people; today military strategists plan to conscript the activity of the entire man power of a nation. A proposed French law gives power to the state to conscript also the women. Compulsory military training in time of peace and the invasion of schools and colleges by military departments run by the Department of War are requisitioning study time of youth, and tending to regiment youth's thinking. The post office, the newspapers, the radio, the movies, artists and men of science are in danger of

being drawn in to give their support to the building of war's preparedness machine. All this means an increasing cost to human liberty, to freedom of thought and discussion, to the possibility of social advance. It should be fully weighed in estimating the price to be paid for putting over an "adequate" security program. Armed preparedness is a huge cost in the present, and for the future it is mounting.

EVEN worse is the fact that increase of expenditure for armament does not in the modern world purchase increase of security. It may do so, possibly, for a score of years, but the policy is subject to a law of diminishing returns and leads straight toward a climax of disaster. Senator Borah in discussing "What is Preparedness?" recently called attention to the huge public debts and constantly increasing tax burdens which governments are putting on their peoples throughout the world. "The things with which governments will have to contend in the future," he said, "are the economic distress and political unrest of their own people." A big armament program, he warns, "will be courting trouble. It will widen the breach between the citizen and his government. It will further discourage and exasperate those who already have more than they can bear. It will not be preparedness, for that which accentuates economic distress is unpreparedness."

Now, starting with this situation, consider further the steps toward insecurity which a nation must travel if it trusts its defense to proficiency in arms:

- (1) Its equipment for war must be adequate in comparison with the fighting strength of possible enemy nations.
- (2) This inclines the stronger nations to armament competition. The margin of security for nation A as against nation B becomes an incentive to nation B, from the point of view of *its* security, to outarm nation A.

- (3) Fear enters more and more into the picture; the more effective the armament of one side, the more it is dreaded by the other side. This at first may be a deterrent postponing the clash of war, but meanwhile it tends to speed up armament rivalry, putting great tax burdens and military domination upon the peoples, increasing suspicion between them and constantly widening the area of a coming war's destruction by drawing into balanced alliances the major nations who fear the ordeal of war without the support of powerful allies.
- (4) Modern science by its gift of the submarine, airplane and chemical warfare has added new terrors to the situation; it has put a premium on speed, on striking first, on up-to-the-minute preparedness, on committing dictatorial power to a very small group of men who can act quickly and who can control the huge machine of government from the top.
- (5) These statesmen are fallible human beings, living under an intense nervous strain and liable to pride, anger, fear, pressure by selfish interests and mistakes. Yet a single slip on the part of any one may touch off in explosion the pent-up preparations for war. Says Winston Churchill: "Death stands at attention, obedient, expectant, ready to serve, ready to shear away the peoples *en masse*; ready, if called on, to pulverize, without hope of repair, what is left of civilization. He awaits only the word of command. He awaits it from a frail, bewildered being, long his victim, now—for one occasion only—his Master."

Is this security?

OVER against the program of seeking security by military means, pacifism proposes an entirely opposite way. We claim that its financial and moral cost will be incomparably less and that the security obtained will be immeasurably greater. Instead of relying for security on power to destroy and the fear which other nations may have of attacking a well-armed nation, pacifist preparedness seeks to build security on a foundation of friendship—both international and domestic. A shining example in American history of the shift of security from a fear basis to a friendship basis is the founding of the colony of Pennsylvania. While New York, New Jersey and the other colonies trusted to gunfire to defend them from Indian attack, William Penn and the Quakers risked the whole security of their wives and children on a preparedness policy of winning the friendship of the Indians.

Pacifist preparedness does not expect to eliminate all human conflict or speedily to remake human nature, but taking the world as it is, and people as they are, it

affirms that there is no conflict which cannot be solved better by a peace process than by the war process. Pacifist strategy moves along three coordinate lines: (1) the renunciation of war and armament; (2) the organization of pacifist controls; and (3) continuous effort for social justice.

Secretary Kellogg's treaties for the renunciation of war are in line with peace preparedness. If they are not emasculated with stultifying reservations most pacifists will cordially support them. However, pacifists will feel that the treaties, as they are, will not guarantee security until certain additional measures are taken to reinforce them.

For instance, the treaties will not break the mastery of fear if the separate nations continue to build up huge armaments. To the man in the street, the treaties will seem to be but scraps of paper if nations persist in spending many times as much on war machinery as they do on peace machinery.

If disarmament can be secured by international agreement, well and good; but if some nations are unwilling, pacifists believe that their own nation should disarm anyhow and set the example. And it is more than an example. For even if as example the move be not followed, it takes away in the heart of a possible enemy the fear of aggression by the unarmed nation and it then allows the magnetism of friendship to have full play. The Quakers' security among the Indians rested, not only on the fact that the Quakers treated them justly but also on the fact that the Quakers carried no arms. The Indians therefore did not fear them. Story after story in the Quaker records proves this point. Besides, as will be shown later, a pacifist nation can organize non-military methods of self-defense, and, trusting to them far more than to the uncertain defense of war, the pacifist nation would be foolish if it held back from stepping forward into daylight because other countries were not yet persuaded to leave darkness behind.

Likewise, pacifism rules out armed intervention by one nation in the affairs of another. It is against the use of war ships and marines to collect debts or furnish security to life and property. Too often this attempt provokes the very evils for which it is supposed to be a remedy. Armed intervention is vastly different from domestic police for a number of reasons, but especially because it is *foreign* force not controlled by local authority. Resentment is certain to arise against it, it runs counter to nationalism, is the mother of fear and the bar to genuine friendship and cooperation. It does not educate for local democratic self government, but sets in motion a train of psychological complexes and economic consequences, not generally realized at first, but which are almost certain in the end to lead to more intervention or out and out military conquest.

COMING now to the peace armament which pacifists would substitute for the armament of war, it depends on the organizing of social controls which apply peaceful persuasion or in some cases non-violent coercion. Many of these controls can best be exercised through international agencies and pacifists are therefore continuously active in the social engineering which builds, improves, reconstructs and multiplies machinery for this purpose. Already there exists in the world a considerable amount of it—the League of Nations, the World Court, treaties and tribunals for conciliation and arbitration, the outlawry of war proposals, the Pan-American Union, all sorts of conferences and the like.

A question of central importance connected with all peace machinery is, "Can it get its decisions executed without resort to the methods of war for enforcement?" Pacifists hold that it can, provided large armaments are discontinued and peace sanctions are devised. Kirby Page's article on Pacifism and International Police, already published in this series, cites the experience of the United States Supreme Court and advocates the use when necessary of such forces as public opinion, the diplomatic boycott, financial and economic pressure. Commander J. M. Kenworthy has strikingly pointed out in his *Peace or War?* that "America, Britain, Holland and Switzerland between them control the finance of the whole world" and that if they chose "no nations breaking the peace could hope for any financial help against their combined boycott."

The limits of the present article prevent the writer from enlarging upon the variety of ways and means by which international agencies could exert other pressures than those of war. But pacifists believe that out and out peace controls are available, or that they can be organized, and that the League of Nations, the Locarno treaties, and all other peace agencies will be most secure when they rely not on "armed sanctions for defense," but on peace processes alone.

LET us turn now to the case, so often envisaged by military writers and speakers, of an unarmed and innocent nation attacked by a treaty-breaking foe. We will suppose that it is a clear case of aggression—perhaps an adventure in imperialism—and that for one reason or another, the international peace machinery fails to work. Ordinarily, things would not be as clear-cut as this, but still it is perfectly fair to ask pacifists what they would do in such an emergency. Our answer is, that in addition to doing all that we possibly can now to eliminate the armament curse and construct strong machinery of peace, we think that each nation should work out for itself a peace plan of *non-violent national defense* which it could put into action by itself in case its land was invaded. The particular methods of non-violent resistance to be offered would have to be

carefully determined in accordance with the size, solidarity, patriotism, material and moral resources of the nation, or group of nations, concerned. Advance preparation, money, skill and professional training would be necessary for this defense, as they are for defense by arms.

The idea of peace-defense will seem wildly theoretical to many, but pacifists are able to point to a number of instances where the thing has actually been tried and these cases while not absolutely conclusive afford good ground to expect that if a capable people took up the idea of peace-defense in earnest and organized it scientifically and got the churches, newspapers, schools and other agencies of opinion and education behind it, the peace-defense could be operated with success.

MAHATMA GANDHI of India has made the most notable attempt of any leader in our time to swing national consciousness away from violence and over to the practical use of pacifist methods in a struggle for national freedom. Writing to his Indian followers he has said:

The secret of success lies therefore in holding every English life and the life of every officer serving the government as sacred as those of our dear ones. . . . I make bold to say that the moment the Englishmen feel that, although they are in India in a hopeless minority, their lives are protected against harm not because of the matchless weapons of destruction which are at their disposal, but because Indians refuse to take the lives even of those whom they may consider to be utterly in the wrong, that moment will see a transformation in the English nature in its relation to India, and that moment will also be the moment when all the destructive cutlery that is to be had in India will begin to rust.¹

Gandhi's attempt to follow on with mass refusal to pay taxes, mass refusal to use English courts and schools and other refusals to cooperate with the ruling invaders, had to be called off because too many Indians were unable to rise to the height of Gandhi's way. But conceding that this effort of civil disobedience was premature, it is still of importance that Gandhi has seriously shaken the hold of Great Britain on India and that he may have warded off an insurrection that would have tragically miscarried. The end result is yet to be seen, but there is prospect that persistence in Gandhi's nationalist pacifist way will yet be a principal factor in winning India's freedom.

Over in China the boycott has been used with efficient results against the aggressions of both Japan and Great Britain. It helped bring about the withdrawal of Japan's domineering Twenty-one Demands and within the last two years it has effected a striking reversal in Great Britain's attitude toward the "unequal" treaties. Although a fleet of British warships rides in

¹ *Young India*, p. 171.

the harbors of the treaty ports and patrols the waters of the Yangtze, yet in reality their day is done. The boycott of Chinese merchants against British goods has struck such blows at British trade as warships cannot repair or recover. Only if the Chinese should themselves be tempted to resort to violence, as the communist group did at Nanking, would foreign warships and soldiers now be given power to loose wide destruction. Let the Chinese, however, achieve national unity, let them rally their masses in determined but pacifist opposition to any aggressive Power, and who will say that China could not before very long be master on her own soil?

Or if we look in Western Europe, we shall find in Germany, disarmed after Versailles, two remarkable instances of the defensive force, against military invasion, of the non-violent strike. In March 1920 some thousands of soldiers who had been secretly armed entered the city of Berlin under the leadership of a Dr. Kapp, who attempted, like Mussolini, to seize power. An eye witness writes:

On a particular Friday night, quite unknown to anybody, a few thousand troops marched into Berlin and took possession of the city. During Saturday and Sunday a general strike was organized by the workers of Berlin, and it was the most complete general strike that has ever taken place in any part of the world. By Sunday evening that strike was in perfect order, and on Monday morning there was not a single service running, gas and electricity were cut off, water was allowed to run, but it was impossible to have any cooked food, and so on, for a period of four or five days. . . . The result was that by the following Thursday evening the whole action of the Kapp *putsch* fell to pieces, and terms were made. I stood on that Thursday evening in the Leipzigerstrasse at the foot of Wilhelmstrasse, and I watched a few thousand troops, according to the terms of the agreement, march out of the city, defeated by a defenseless mass of people who had operated a very successful general strike.²

In a less thorough way, but over a wider area, German workers downed their tools when in 1923 the French army with tanks and machine guns invaded the Ruhr. As everyone knows, the French after a year or two found it impracticable to overcome this resistance and hold on to the district. The Dawes plan was set up and the French forces withdrew. It was a costly experience both for them and for the Germans. The German defense was open to serious criticism at a number of points and yet the central fact stands out that on the whole the German non-violent resistance succeeded. One wonders what would have happened if similar tactics, instead of war, had been employed by the Belgians, and then by the French, when the Kaiser's army crossed the frontier in 1914.

PROPAGANDA was one of the great discoveries of the war; mostly it consisted of lies, but a propaganda of truth could be an influential force and a peace weapon in the hands of a country suffering under invasion. The attacked nation refusing to commit violence but using truth propaganda with other means of pacifist resistance, would do its best to win world public opinion to its side, and also such liberal opinion as might be found within the aggressor nation. And even if the invading enemy should be able to seize cables, radio, telegraph, newspaper offices, and other channels of communication, a determined people would probably find ways of eluding the censorship and getting out their news. The Belgians managed to do it, and Sandino from a corner of Nicaragua has been front page stuff in the capitals of Europe and all over the American continent.

Of course, a truth-propaganda unprotected by violence calls for more courage and sacrifice from those undertaking it, than does the usual war propaganda of lies. But, correspondingly, it is a force of spiritual constructiveness. In South Africa it was employed by Gandhi with outstanding success. He called it "Truth-force," also "Love-force" and "Soul-force." He found that it was most powerful when backed by voluntary suffering. He says,

I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be Truth to one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self.

Facing the actualities of race prejudice and economic exploitation, Gandhi got this doctrine over to some forty thousand indentured Indians, and by his method, persisted in for eight years, they won their fight. When asked if suffering and going on suffering did not require extraordinary self-control, Gandhi replied, "No extraordinary self-control is required. Every mother suffers."

It is on that capacity of common men and women to suffer for a cause that pacifism greatly relies. Hitherto war and the service of arms have exploited this power of suffering to the utmost, but is not the hour at hand when pacifist service of a just cause will evoke it still more effectively? The appeal of pacifism is very similar to that which Christianity in the first century made to the oppressed and idealists in the Empire ruled by Rome. Jesus' teachings of forgiveness, of absorbing evil by love, of the might of Truth, of super-racial and super-national loyalty to the human brotherhood, and of getting free from fear by flinging one's life into a cause sustained by God—these correspond to mighty forces of life; they are the munitions of

² Wilfred Wellock: The General Strike and War, in *No More War*, June, 1927.

pacifism with which it proposes to wage defense against the powers of violence and evil.

FINALLY, genuine pacifism will not neglect the causes of strife. Believing that no nation liveth to itself and that its security and welfare is more or less bound up with that of others, pacifist preparedness seeks a solution by agreement of such problems as population outlet, securing to every nation access to the sea and to necessary raw materials, markets, etc. Or if within a nation two percent of the people own and control sixty or seventy per cent of all the wealth, or

if there is brutal treatment of religious minorities or much race discrimination, it may not be sufficient for national security, simply to preach pacifist methods. That should be done, but it will be unrealistic and not convincing to the aggrieved groups unless at the same time pacifists are clearly striving to change the fundamental injustice of these situations. True pacifism is not passivism or any leaving of injustice alone, its aim is not peace as an end, but the using of peace as a method; it is high powered activity for change and yet also conservative of order. As a way of advancing social justice, pacifism makes its greatest contribution to security for the nation.

Recent Progress in Science

DAVID STARR JORDAN

IN discussing the advance of science for the last thirty years I find it necessary to draw certain distinctions between "pure science" as an advance in human knowledge, and "applied science," which deals with the adaptation of such knowledge to the service or perhaps to the whims of civilized humanity. For the same period may show an abatement in the growth of knowledge with a marked advance in applications and in mechanical skill. In the last thirty years, this condition has existed in fact. The current distinction between pure and applied science is doubly inappropriate, for invention is a product of science and never altogether separable from it. Applied science, or knowledge in action, is, of necessity, subsequent to "pure science," a name which seems to imply that knowledge devoted to the service of humanity becomes somehow "impure." When knowledge is used to the injury of humanity ("prostituted" as the phrase is) it becomes really impure, though the devotees of the God of War have rarely accepted this definition.

In the present period civilization has devoted itself mainly to conflict ("wars actual" and "wars frustrate"). Science thrives only in fair weather. The international storms from which the civilized world is now slowly recovering are most unfavorable to its development, such struggles being mostly undemocratic, and of all conditions the most antagonistic to intellectual progress.

The two great functions of science are the broadening of the human mind, its release from the tyrannies of ignorance and of self-constituted authority. Hence arises the second great function, the use of all knowledge needed for human health and efficiency and for all phases of the great art of the conduct of life.

IN the field of human sanitation are many of our greatest discoveries, especially in recent times.

Naturally man is very much interested in all that makes his life happier or more enduring. This progress of sanitary knowledge advances by leaps and bounds and its art keeps step with it. Likewise also, its sham substitutes swell in volume and in impudence in proportion to its actual success.

Invention, a chief activity of our age and country, is an extension of applied science, and through special demands, as I have already said, it may flourish and expand, even when science itself is failing. Invention is an especial feature of a motor nation and it is in a large degree stimulated in busy times. The progress of invention springs from scientific activities in the past. Aviation, to some degree, and parts of chemistry have been tainted at birth by their relation to the pursuit of collective manslaughter. The advance of medicine, and the science on which its progress depends, is one of the most striking features of the modern era. This progress is along several different lines, among the most prominent being the relation of bacteria to disease, the discovery of filterable virus, made up of organisms too small to be seen through our best microscopes, too small to be caught in any filter, yet extremely potent in the destruction of tissue in animals or man; the extension of surgical skill through anatomical knowledge, the application of antiseptic methods, the discovery of insulin and that of vitamins and hormones, with the function of the ductless glands. To this we may add the formation of serums which smother the disease germs and the vaccines which weaken them.

Another feature of modern advance in knowledge and skill is the ingenuity displayed by the charlatan in going far beyond the facts in the preparation of alleged cures. At the same time, the more useful medical knowledge becomes, the more active and aggressive become its opponents, who in systematized

ignorance deny all its discoveries and decry all its achievements. Such conditions have existed throughout the long history of every science. At present, however, the contrast between knowledge and guessing seems greater, as the World War has lifted the lid from action of every form. The inferiority complex no longer holds, and absurdities of all kinds now dance in the public eye, freely and unashamed.

In the present paper I shall not venture to discuss the various phases of invention. Its great expansion is very recent, and only the Patent Office records could enumerate the myriad ways in which it has entered into our own common life. Just fifty years ago the present writer was a member of a committee which examined the Bell telephone at Washington. Stretching a wire from the fourth story of a Smithsonian tower to the basement, we were amazed to find that we could speak from one end of the wire to be heard at the other. Since then, seated here in my room in California, I have given over the telephone an address to the Quill Club in New York without losing a word. At Washington in 1877 I had occasion to test the first typewriter. Twenty years later (1897) I went up Mount Hamilton on the first automobile in California to find out whether this uncanny vehicle could be made to run up hill. Some years later the Marconi wireless telegraphy and the still more remarkable though less fortunate Poulsen system rose to the world's notice, soon followed hard by the amazing operations called radio, which puts the whole world into talking distance of whoever can command a listener.

Invention is rapidly invading every field of human activity, saving time everywhere and at the same time involving new expenses. As a messenger of goodwill, the aeroplane is outgrowing the lugubrious memory of its first services in war. I now look on a dirigible balloon with feelings very different from those I experienced when I saw the first Zeppelin rise in Lorraine in 1913. As a whole, "pure science," especially the progress of invention in the last fifty years, has been amazingly rapid and varied, and this especially in regard to aviation and transportation in general and to applications of electricity. In the fields of sanitation and sanitative engineering enormous progress has been made, lengthening the average expectation of human life in civilized conditions from about thirty-six years to over fifty. But invention is not science, but rather a child of the science of an earlier generation.

THE interference of war with scientific advance has several phases. First, and in the long run the most important, is the death in battle or through mental distress of many of those who should be the ablest exponents of science. Most notable of these, perhaps, was Professor Moseley of Cambridge, regarded by many of his colleagues as the most gifted student of physics who has ever lived. The record of

the war losses of the British universities contains the names of many scholars of the first rank. Among the younger dons or assistant professors whom I knew personally in England and Scotland in 1913, the death roll was very long. In Germany, France and Belgium, conditions were the same. A man of science can give his life to his country most surely by living, and by leaving successors of his own type. The death of Moseley at the Dardanelles in the ill-planned attack on the Turkish forts served no rational purpose of England. The group of virile and scholarly young men, called by Stead "the picked half million" has been decimated and largely destroyed.

Next to the actual loss of scientific workers comes the loss of means by which research can be continued. Those who lead at any time must stand on the shoulders of their predecessors. To this end, in any field, great libraries are a necessity, and these libraries must be kept up to date. To this end money is necessary, and almost everywhere in Continental Europe all the national earnings were flung into the open abyss of war, towards which all nations have been and still are racing on "la course vers l'abîme." In few countries has it been possible to maintain the efficiency of libraries, and in all, America included, the means of publication of results of serious research have been greatly diminished. In America individuals have made great gifts to remedy some of these conditions, and many more are expected soon, especially as regards sanitation and exploration, but the scientific work of national bureaus has been checked and their means of publication sadly limited.

Science again suffers from the disillusionment inseparable from the aftermath of war. In casting away everything in the pursuit of victory, which at the end proves useless as compared with the cost, human values of all kinds suffer depreciation. Men ask: "Is it worth while?" A distinguished professor of the University of Munich writes me: "I shall probably never undertake any more scientific work." Others, still more hopeless, have died of desolation and despair.

To devote one's life to science is to take a vow of poverty. Its reward is found in itself, and the joy of working is enhanced by the help it gives to the generations which follow. In other regards, it must be admitted, conditions the world over are slowly but certainly improving, but it is true that a whole generation of science has been sacrificed in a purposeless conflict.

ONE result, temporarily, let us hope, of present conditions appears in the desire even on the part of real investigators to "speed up research." Many insist that we waste too much time hunting for truth; let us get at it more quickly. It is now seriously urged that we should let go the "toehold on knowledge" gained by difficult observation and tedious experiment, turning to quick intuition and inspiring imagination.

It has been said of Dr. William Crookes of England, "The fiery imagination of the discoverer of electrons would not be stayed by the balance and the burette." "More explicitly Dr. Harry Roberts of London finds in medicine that among the ultra-moderns a feeling is spreading that this thing (laboratory research) is at the best a little Victorian and old fashioned, and that truth could be captured by less laborious and more dashing methods. Guessing is coming into fashion."

That like conditions obtain in several branches of knowledge is undoubtedly true, and the deductions to which guessing, assumed as truth, give rise, forms some of the most formidable obstacles to scientific research. For example, many writers, even men of repute in science, speak of abiogenesis or spontaneous generation as though it being a logical necessity is a proved fact, although nothing of the kind has been shown by actual experiment. But there can be no logical necessity in biology until all elements of the case are determined and in our possession. There yawns an immense gulf between what may be or ought to be, and that which we have found out to be actual fact. Science may be occasionally advanced by such fortunate guesses as "working hypotheses," but unless supported afterwards by rigid methods of comparison, the deductions of logic, intuition and imagination do not last long in science and are seldom imbedded in its fabric. But last, all obstructions, of whatever character, must be cleared away.

The haste in securing results has been a factor in recent efforts to elevate or reduce one science to the rank of a branch of some other. Thus it is sometimes said that "Biology is only a branch of chemistry," and again that "Chemistry is a form of applied algebra." But our actual knowledge of chemistry is entirely due to observation and experiment, with inductions more or less substantiated, based on this knowledge.

The atom was once the indivisible unit of matter, as its Greek name ("not to be cut") signifies. But now it is as easy to divide as the molecule, for the latter is conceived as a sort of solar system made up of the lively though almost intangible electrons, these awaiting their turn in time for further division. The electron is for the present a center of incitement to research, though the nature of light, the existence and nature (if it has any) of the ether have followed it closely, while in some quarters the very existence of matter has been questioned. In this regard we must all admit that something bearing a close resemblance to matter is within the reach of all.

Along these lines, as well as in the study of the (almost) infinitely great, science has advanced by leaps and bounds. But it is not the way in which science most securely travels. In many respects we are still to wait for final adjustment of the knowledge we seem to have secured. In the last analysis, fancy must be squeezed out before we stand on the solid ground oc-

cupied in less luminous times by men like Faraday, Lyell and Darwin. As to results reached at last in the final assessment of relativity, electricity, optics and dynamics, no one can yet say, least of all the present writer, who perforce takes every discovery in astronomy, physics, chemistry or even bacteriology at its face value. He can, however, question whether algebra, with its amazing ramifications, is itself a science, but rather science's most ambitious tool. It is most important in determining the range and meaning of assumptions of reality on which its equations and divinations rest, but incapable of adding to the human stock of realities, though helping us in fancy at least, to understand the nature of such figments as the fourth dimension of matter.

IN biology discoveries are mainly of two types. The one consists of the development of broad generalizations on the basis of facts long known but not properly correlated. Such a discovery was that of the "physical basis of heredity," as embodied in the units (chromosomes) which seem to carry over all inherited traits. Another discovery of similar type is known as Mendelism. One feature of this is the recognition of distinct units of inheritance or genes, within each reproductive cell. The great work of Darwin on the transmutation of species in a changing but orderly world consists of a series of similar discoveries or theories which revise all our studies of men, animals or plants. In every field the light of the past streams through the present and far down into the future.

Another line of advance in biology follows from the recognition of the prodigious number of species of animals or plants in this small world and the nature of the influences (factors in evolution) which effect their gradual change from age to age. A species is a definable kind of organism which has run the gauntlet of life and which has endured. The detailed study of groups of species involves constant discoveries of new forms, and of their relations to one another and to obstacles in their reaction from the environment. All these multitudinous facts work together to give our best knowledge of organic evolution. The cumulative argument is always the best of evidence the conception of evolution can demand. All groups of animals and plants tell the same story, and in most groups it is reinforced and supported by the discovery of myriads of extinct forms. These confirm at every hand the inductions drawn from the knowledge of living organisms.

SCIENCE alone can form a sound basis for the conduct of life. The art of living, or ethics, can fall back on no final authority. That is right which in the long run justifies itself in more abundant life. In such matters neither man nor nation can trust to impulse or to instincts, for to control these and to discriminate

among them is a function of intelligence. Conscience, even though backed by a will to do right, needs training and instruction. The grossest brutalities that stain the pages of history have been perpetrated by men with a perfectly clear conscience, though not an enlightened one. In the conduct of life we cannot trust religion, for the sentiment of fear, awe, reverence and duty, from which it evolves is likely to be sadly mingled or overlaid by superstition. Truth is always in some degree perverted by uninformed tradition or by systematic organization. It is for science to dissolve superstition and to disentangle religion from the confusing meshes of authority.

The primal great function of science is to widen and strengthen the human mind. It makes humanity worthwhile. Its span is the accessible universe, dealing alike with the almost infinitely large and the impalpably small. Science knows no great or small, save as attributes of that with which it treats. Man can reach but a small part, not a fraction, but a tangible fringe of the universe which knows no final bounds. We find in it endless change and limitless adjustment. But every change is orderly. So far as we can see, "Nothing endures save the flow of energy and the rational order

that pervades it." To the word "rational" as thus used, we can assign no human meaning. That which lies behind it we cannot describe, for to describe would involve also the power to circumscribe. No terms of human experience are adequate to carry us over into the realm of the unconditioned, the fathomless, or the unknowable.

THE present writer had planned to conclude this paper with the account of the rapid advance of science in the last ten years, especially in regions not devastated by war, and the struggles toward expansion of knowledge in the remaining countries of Europe. In the United States great sums are now given, mostly to private citizens, to extend knowledge in various quarters, notably in protective and preventive medicine, chemistry, anatomy, geology, physics and biology. Large plans for natural history explorations are being made, into which I hoped to go in some detail. But a degree of eye-strain warns me to conclude this paper, without further detail, but with the addition of a broad ray of hope. The more men really know of our universe, the broader their range of happiness and faith.

Verse

Idol-Maker

ARROGANTLY he stood
 Damning terrible gods
 And fashioning from mud
 His weak ones like the clods.
 Though things were glorified
 By the swift walking by
 Of one whose godly stride
 Was the expanse of sky;
 He could see but shadows
 Of little things along
 The road and across the meadows
 About which to make song.
 It was not like a tree
 Indifferent to wind
 That blew by constantly
 That he stood—and not blind.
 It was that he must be
 Small if that god was great.
 Even if he could see
 This one he would create
 A weaker out of mud,
 And cease to be so small.
 Let there be sprinkled blood
 Lest his greatness fall!

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

Headlines on a Street Car

*More than a Score of Miners Doomed
 The Cause Exploding Gas.
 The Wreckage Holds them Fast Entombed.
 They Cannot Pierce the Mass.*

I turned the page, with pity sick,
 And heard a fat man say:
 "Why do these striking miners kick?
 They get ten bucks a day!"

—KENNETH W. PORTER.

Annulment

AND so, to consecrate the bond, we broke
 The final crust, we sipped the final wine,
 And if a tumult in the heart awoke,
 We did not show it by an outward sign;
 And if the music of the spheres has fled,
 The clash of swords, the riot in the veins,
 Something unaltered is not wholly dead,
 But changed; an echo of the dream remains.

So there is still a broken legend left,
 The rumble of a faded music still
 Along the pavements, and the heart bereft
 Storms once again the fortress and the hill;
 And should one arras part, the heart would know
 The heart was never made for overthrow.

—HAROLD VINAL.

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Educational Programs for Unemployed

Because it is likely that unemployment of considerable consequence will be with us for years, the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches has recommended to relief agencies engaged in assisting the unemployed that they work out educational programs and offer these during periods of unemployment. Such programs would give opportunity for workers to increase their efficiency and to broaden their outlook. An undertaking of this sort would be of considerable value to industry.

Labor Peace Sought by Bar

The American Bar Association has recently issued a 48-page report, the result of several years' study and investigation of arbitration in industry. The report has been approved by the Association's executive committee and will be presented to the Association at its meeting in late July. The report urges legislation that would provide a federal industrial council to act as an advisory board in promoting peaceful settlement of labor disputes, and make voluntary arbitration, conciliation or mediation pacts between employers and organizations of employees legally binding. The proposed federal industrial council would comprise twelve commissioners: two lawyers, members of the American Bar Association; two representative business men, members of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce; two members of the National Association of Manufacturers; two members of the American Federation of Labor; two farmer members of an established farmers' organization; and the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor. The Council would be authorized to "consider such conditions affecting industry as, in their opinion, cause strikes, lock-outs, or controversy between management and labor or between those furnishing capital and labor." It would make public, from time to time, its findings and recommend remedies which could be adopted voluntarily by the parties involved. Its conclusions would be advisory and recommendatory without power to make any decision or award.

Southern Industrial Council

Probably for the first time, a group of southerners has organized to fight for improvement of southern mill conditions. In Greensboro, North Carolina, liberals from southern universities, women's clubs and churches met to form the Southern Industrial Council. Abolition of night work for women in southern mills is one point of the Council's program. The main present objective is shortening of hours to 54 per week. Southern mill workers now labor 55 to 60 hours per week, unless overtime raises the total to even as high as 72 hours. Besides southern workers suffer from lower wages and higher living costs than their northern fellow workers. Cooperation with labor unions is approved by the Southern Industrial Council in the effort to improve conditions. A "comprehensive factual investigation of the cotton manufacturing industry of the south by an impartial agency" is part of the Council's program. "Support of a field secretary who will coordinate all efforts looking to shorter hours through legislation, unionism or action of employers," is planned.

Five-Day Week Spreading

One of the largest firms engaged in the clothing industry of the United States, after long and very business-like discussions with the United Garment Workers' Union, decided that from May 1 onward the work week is to consist of 40 hours, 8 hours being worked on 5 days in the week, with an increase in rates to compensate for the reduction in hours. The American Federation of Labor estimates that 100,000 American workers were enjoying the five-day work-week in 1926 and that a considerable addition to this number was made in 1927. The President of the Federation says: "It is surprising how swiftly the reform is being extended into the building trades, automobile manufacturing, metal trades and others."

Slaves in Burma Liberated

The expedition led by J. C. T. Barnard has completed its task of freeing the slaves in the Burmese "triangle" and has returned to Myitkyina. The column was received everywhere in a friendly manner and no opposition was encountered. The number of slaves released totaled 1,028, and it is believed no more slaves are left in the "triangle."

Colored Americans Seek Protection

Attention is called to the need of a bureau or organization of some character in Washington to point out, when necessity arises, the character of proposed legislation affecting the interest of the 12,000,000 colored people in the U. S. An instance is the bill introduced into the Senate in February this year (S3151, Report No. 626) "to limit the jurisdiction of District Courts of the U. S." The bill primarily appears to be designed to relieve the heavy dockets of Federal Courts, it is true, nevertheless, that this bill would seriously affect the rights of Negroes.

American Investments Abroad

The Foreign Policy Association (in its Information Service, Vol. 4, special supplement No. 1) issued a summary of American investments abroad in 1927. This study lists investments abroad totaling \$2,071,954,109 for the year 1927. Our foreign investments, exclusive of war debts, are now about \$14,500,000,000. Loans in 1927 to governments, states and municipalities amounted to \$930,560,677, loans to corporations \$1,141,393,432. Europe receives the largest amount of these loans, \$362,564,200 going to governments and \$573,844,180 to corporations; Canada is second with \$109,466,422 to provinces and municipalities and \$333,647,500 to corporations. The greater part of American investments in South America is in loans to governments, states and municipalities, which borrowed \$306,289,800, while corporations borrowed only \$90,530,000. In Central America (including Cuba, Mexico and the West Indies) \$21,331,812 was borrowed by governments, states and municipalities and \$57,874,000 by corporations. Governments and municipalities in United States territorial possessions borrowed \$12,768,443 and corporations \$20,878,752. In other countries \$118,140,000 was borrowed by governments, states and municipalities and \$64,619,000 by corporations. The report gives a detailed list of all these investments.

Did Henry George Live in Vain?

JOSEPH DANA MILLER

THERE are persons alive today who remember the campaign of 1886 in which Henry George ran for mayor of New York City, and received ten thousand more votes than Theodore Roosevelt, and about thirty thousand less than Abram S. Hewitt, the Tammany nominee. Sixty-eight thousand votes were counted for him at this election, and the impression has always existed that Henry George, running as an independent, was actually elected, though defeated in the face of the returns.

In 1897 Mr. George again ran for mayor of Greater New York, as it continued for a time to be called, and died on the eve of election after a whirlwind campaign.

The funeral that followed was perhaps the greatest tribute ever paid by the city to the memory of a private individual. But the theories that he held were forgotten in the almost universal sorrow at the sudden and tragic death of a man greatly loved by many in all classes of society.

Here was a devoted servant of the people, a man of immense courage, and a born leader of men. That any great proportion of those who passed beside his casket in Grand Central Palace, or marched in the procession to his grave in Greenwood, shared a belief in his principles and teachings, no one imagines. They loved the *man*. Few of his generation had the same power to touch the hearts of his fellows, or to arouse the affectionate outpouring with which his every public appearance was greeted.

Following his death came years of silence. What had become of the influence of the man, of the teachings of *Progress and Poverty*, written in 1879, and the many works that followed? The *London Times* praised the work as "epoch making"; Labouchere presided at a great mass meeting in London where Henry George had spoken; he stirred Glasgow to its very depths. He was acclaimed by the *London Times* as an orator superior to Gladstone and Bright; the halls everywhere in Great Britain where he lectured were crowded to the doors. Sir George Grey, second governor of New Zealand, and one of Britain's great colonial administrators, hailed the appearance of *Progress and Poverty* with enthusiasm.

Such notable thinkers and philosophers as Frederic Harrison, Herbert Spencer, John Bright, John Fiske and the Duke of Argyll thought his work of sufficient importance to attack its conclusions, thus paying it the tribute of opposition and further contributing to its circulation in English-speaking countries. No book in modern times has aroused such fierce and long-extended controversy.

Readers of the old *Review of Reviews* do not need to be told what Henry George taught. His remedy for "the increase of want with the increase of wealth" was to take land values in taxation and to abolish all other taxes—hence the name "Single Tax." He left a group of followers in many countries, and these groups kept up a sporadic agitation, which barely stirred the surface of things. The vast majority in every country where Henry George's books had been translated remained profoundly ignorant of those teachings. Political economy as taught in the schools and colleges rarely condescended to mention the teachings of Mr. George and where it did, politely dismissed them, sometimes not even politely.

But the progress of an idea does not depend upon its acceptance by "authorities." It is evidence of the inherent vitality of a principle that in the absence of any widespread agitation it works its way slowly to the front in legislative measures.

May not this be said of the teachings of Henry George? If the principle for which he contended is not yet generally recognized, nevertheless every step taken to absorb some portion of economic rent is evidence of advance. Let us ask if the progress of legislation affords us such testimony.

IT is now nearly ten years ago that Sydney, Australia, a city at that time of 700,000 and now numbering over a million, inclusive of its suburbs, adopted a measure providing for the raising of its revenue from land values alone. For years there had been no tax on personal property.

A law providing for the taxation of land values in New South Wales was passed in 1895. It is not too much to say that this Act was a direct result of the visit of Henry George in 1890 and the wide reading of *Progress and Poverty*. Today in New South Wales all the councils raise their ordinary "rates" by taxing land values only. It is interesting to note that two of the former Australian premiers, Sir George Reid and Sir Joseph Caruthers, were directly influenced by the teachings of Henry George.

In the state of Queensland experience with land value taxation is thirty years old. All large cities and towns, including Brisbane and suburbs, with a population of 230,000, raise their local revenues from land values.

In New Zealand local option in taxation was granted in 1896 to all the cities, boroughs, county and town districts. Forty-seven counties out of a total of 125 and 68 boroughs out of a total of 118 now raise their

local revenues by taxing land values and exempting all improvements. This includes the large cities of Wellington and Christchurch, which have now had twenty years' experience with the system.

None of these New Zealand localities evince any desire to go back to the old system. In two cases where a poll was taken to revert to the taxation of improvements the principle of land value taxation was reaffirmed by a larger vote than that by which the system was carried, despite the fact that voting by the terms of the act was confined to landowners.

Last June Takapuna, one of the suburbs of Auckland, voted to levy all local taxation on land values. The vote stood 1,258 for the proposal to 412 against. This is typical of the general trend among New Zealand and Australian communities.

In South Africa a number of interesting and important steps have been taken. Durban, with a population of 160,000, taxes improvements only one-half as much as land; Salisbury one-seventh; East London about one-sixth. In Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, the rate is 1½d. in the pound on improvements against 4d. in the pound on land. Other cities in South Africa have similar discriminations and some do not tax improvements at all. Among the latter is Johannesburg, with a population of 288,888, where land value taxation for all local revenues has been in force since 1918.

When Canberra was recently selected as the federal capital of Australia the administrators again sought an approximation to the principles taught in *Progress and Poverty*. The land is owned by the government and not a foot of it will be alienated. Lots are auctioned to the highest bidder at an annual rental for a twenty-year period subject to a ten-year periodical reappraisal. To avoid land speculation, building operations must be begun within twelve months of the leasing and completed within another twelve months. If further revenue is needed it must be raised by a tax on land values only. It may be noted that the prize offered for plans submitted for the laying out of the city was won by an architect and former disciple of Henry George from Chicago, Walter Burley Griffin.

LET us now travel to Denmark. It is no exaggeration to say that here is Henry George's country, for, though the American economist never visited Denmark, a little group of his disciples had popularized his philosophy, so that today no American is better known. Professor Jakob Lange, a noted educator at Odense, is the author of a text book on political economy based on the Georgian principles and this is in use in the high schools of Denmark. Professor Lange made a translation of *Progress and Poverty* some years ago which has circulated widely among the

Danes, a reading people among whom the percentage of illiteracy is almost nil.

It is surprising to learn that not only in the Danish high schools the portrait of Henry George is displayed but it is often found, framed and hung conspicuously in the homes of the small cultivators—the *husmaend*. These farmers constitute the backbone of the Henry George movement in Denmark and they have several representatives in Parliament.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1922 Denmark passed a law taxing land values for national purposes at the rate of one and five-tenth mills. Heretofore there had been a tax on land and buildings (the ordinary real estate tax) of one and one-tenth mills. Improvements worth less than 10,000 kronen (about \$2,700) are now exempt from this tax, while improvements in excess of that value are taxed only one and one-tenth mills, the same as before the new law. So the tax on the higher priced improvements is approximately only two-thirds of the rate levied on all land values.

Denmark is the first country in the world to apply a national land tax, which, with its exemption feature is the nearest approach made by any nation as a whole toward the Single Tax. The government which passed this bill has announced its intention to enact legislation for local purposes in which similar discrimination will be made between land and improvements.

WE jump from Denmark to South America. In the Argentines the teachings of Henry George fell upon congenial soil, for the principles he taught have a traditional background in the legislation of Bernardino Rivadavia, the first Argentine president. This legislation was a close approach to what has come to be known as the Single Tax. Rivadavia, who studied in France, enjoyed the friendship of Lafayette, and others who had inherited the teachings of the French Physiocrats, forerunners of Henry George. The Agrarian Law which he established was a great success for two years, but was overthrown by revolution and the era of spoliation that followed. A book written fifty years later by Dr. Andreas Lamas, a Montevideo lawyer and historian, sets forth in detail the legislation of Rivadavia.

This work deserves to be called the *Progress and Poverty* of South America. In defending and explaining the legislation of Rivadavia, Dr. Lamas advanced his own ideas and reasoned from the same premises as Henry George, though in apparent ignorance of his writings. Today the Single Tax publications of the Argentines carry side by side the portraits of Rivadavia, Lamas and George.

Notwithstanding, little has been achieved in legislation. But the page is not entirely blank. The province of Cordoba has collected a large part of its provincial

venues from the value of rural lands since 1914. The city of Mendoza, with a population of 67,000, enacted a law in 1923 to raise approximately 80 per cent of its revenue from land values. When in the same year the City Council of Buenos Aires by a vote of 20 to 8 passed a resolution to transfer the major part of its municipal revenues from industry and improvements to the value of land, Single Taxers in the Argentine must have felt that their triumph was near in this city of 1,800,000. But the law was later rescinded on the ground of unconstitutionality.

In Brazil and Uruguay measures looking in the direction of land value taxation have been enacted, and we are encouraged to look for further advances from these countries.

WE have little space left for a recital of Single Tax achievements in the United States. In the city of New York, where Henry George secured his greatest triumphs, more land values are taken in taxation than in any city in the world. It does not pay to hold land out of use in this city owing to a high tax rate accompanied by what is practically a full value assessment.

In 1920, confronted by a severe housing shortage, the lawmakers at Albany borrowed a leaf from Single Tax teachings and passed a permissive act by which a few dwellings might be exempted for a period of ten years, and last year (1927) the New York City authorities voted to exempt for twenty years dwellings built by limited dividend corporations under the state housing law.

It is to Pittsburgh and Scranton that we now turn for other examples. These cities started in 1913 with a ten per cent reduction in the tax rate on buildings, gradually increasing the reduction until the rate is now only one-half the rate on land values. Attempts of landlords and speculators to have the law altered or repealed have failed because its effect in encouraging industry is realized. That what is known as the "Pittsburgh Plan" must extend to other cities and states seems certain, and though the social effects are small, it has fiscal advantages which appeal to the business man. There is no tax on personal property or machinery in these two prosperous manufacturing cities.

To the many instances of progress given are to be added North Dakota, which state in 1917 provided for the assessment of land at thirty per cent of its value and improvements on land at five per cent of their value; Minnesota, where formerly the iron mines of the state paid no tax for local or state purposes, now derives millions from this source under an act passed in 1921; Canada, where the city of Victoria has abolished all taxation on improvements, and where the smaller cities of Alberta Province, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, and Alberta, levy taxes almost exclusively

on land values; Manitoba, where municipalities derive their revenues almost entirely from the same source, and Saskatchewan, where an "unearned increment" tax is levied.

The Vancouver experiment has been pointed to as a failure of Single Tax in practice. But this is a superficial view of what was done. The building boom that resulted from the exemption of buildings was, in fact, a demonstration of the stimulus afforded to industry by the removal of tax burdens. Had there been any real knowledge of this mode of taxation, or any disposition based on such knowledge to make an adequate trial of the system, the results would have been different. As it was, it left us with no available data on which to base conclusions. But happily Canada did not need it. It has had abundant experience with legislation designed to lighten the burden on business and agriculture.

Every instance given of land value taxation and accompanying exemption of improvements has occurred since Progress and Poverty was written in 1879. Communities numbering many thousands, with populations totaling many millions, have advanced by one step or another in the direction pointed out by that great work. Nearly all these changes can be directly attributed to its influence.

It seems not unlikely that this influence will permeate further and more generally as these approaches, often timid and hesitating, are demonstrated in the light of experience to be of lasting value. For, though the time when the entire rental value of land will be taken in taxation is yet a long way off, events are crowding one another, and nearly every country is making some favorable gesture toward the principle. The sturdy little American who died in 1897 has set in motion an impulse which is felt in every Council Chamber and Legislative Hall in Christendom.



Pen-and-ink impression by
GERALD VAN DER HEYDEN

From *The Dearborn Independent*

The Little Country Theater

ERIC H. THOMSEN

ONE of the most disconcerting phenomena in our present civilization is the annual migration of farm people to the city. Because they dislike the country? Not exactly. Because they love the big cities? *No*. Economists will tell you that they go to the cities because they can make more money than on the farm. They can—that is, when they can get and keep work. Sociologists may tell you that they go to the city because of the wider opportunities for education, medical attendance and social recreation, and they probably come much nearer being right.

One man saw opportunities to vitalize rural conditions and for almost twenty years he has invested all his marvelous powers of imagination, powers that would command a king's ransom if he wanted to commercialize his talents, in the development of country life in the great Northwest. In the beginning Alfred G. Arvold was an instructor at the North Dakota Agricultural College on the left bank of the Red River, right across the border line from Minnesota. There was nothing much of anything, either in terms of equipment or appropriation. Most other people would have quit long ago and called it a hopeless job. But Arvold is not that kind of man. He will grit his teeth and square his big jaw and everything beneath that great forehead of his will work night and day until he has solved whatever the problems may be that people present him with from the corners of the state and far beyond it.

But to begin at the beginning, some school teacher wanted to get a few copies of plays which might be performed out in the country. Arvold happened to have a few old worn copies and sent them. Somebody who had witnessed the performance next asked for help until the demands came from all over the state and led to the establishment of a package library system, designed to supply material for various kinds of public programs. As the years went by, this is the sort of service that was rendered: briefs upon subjects relating to country life, copies of festivals, pageants, plays, readings, dialogs, pictures of floats, parades, processions, exhibit arrangements, costume designs, character portrayals, plans of stages, auditoriums, open air theaters, fair grounds, community buildings, constitutions of all kinds of organizations, catalogs of books, in fact all sorts of material which would help people in the countryside to express themselves.

Arvold's argument is constantly, why should all the best things be for the city people? "Instead of making the drama a luxury for the classes, its aim [that of The

Little Country Theater] is to make it an instrument for the enlightenment and enjoyment of the masses. In the words of the founder: "The drama is a medium through which America must inevitably express its highest form of democracy. When it can be used as an instrument to get people to express themselves in order that they may build up a bigger and better community life, it will have performed a real service to society. When the people who live in the small community and the country awaken to the possibilities which lie hidden in themselves through the impulse of a vitalized drama they will not only be less eager to move to centers of population but will also be a force in attracting city folks to dwell in the country. The monotony of country existence will change into a new and broader life."

THIS, then, is the faith of the man who started it that the Little Country Theater will take any group of raw farm youths and make it possible for them to play anything from Shakespeare to Bernard Shaw, anything from Peter Pan to Peer Gynt, in a country schoolhouse, the basement of a country church, the sitting-room of a farm, the village or town hall, or Matt Howell's barn in Pekin that has become the seat of the Bergen Township Farmers Club. Couples therewith will be all sorts of stimulating suggestion for the use of local talent in working up programs for spring festivals, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and every other occasion, medleys of old folk songs, barn dances, spelling bees, quilting parties, picnics, in fact something for everybody and for every occasion.

The matter of a congenial meeting place for small intimate gatherings would come up and immediately a very average attic would be turned into the charming inside of the Lincoln Log Cabin. All the sides and the roof would be covered over in rough-hewn logs. A fireplace would be built and rigged up by the college blacksmith with hand-wrought andirons and the motto put over the fireplace, likewise in handmade iron letters, "Let us have Faith that Right makes Might." Jefferson and Lincoln being among the patron saints of Arvold, every possible opportunity will be used to supply the cabin with some picture or utensil or motto which will remind visitors of the ideals for which those two great pioneers stood and give the younger generation the vision and courage to follow in their steps. When you think of some of the blather often handed out about Lincoln on the occasion of his birthday or the Fourth of July by professional patriots who would

be shocked to see his ideals practiced, what a great contrast for good to see a splendid piece of rural work done among the common people in the spirit of the great commoner who himself rose from the most primitive rural background.

The great lessons in both the growth of the Little Country Theater and the Lincoln Log Cabin are to be found in the way in which they came to be. There were no appropriations from anybody, no collections, no tag-days, none of the usual rigmarole connected with the promotion and financing of community

projects. Patient and painstaking efforts were made over a period of years to present good community programs at rates of admission ranging from ten to twenty-five cents, more often ten than twenty-five; and this petty change was used in providing redecoration, seats, properties, costumes, dishes, furniture, copies of plays, a country life library and many other things. It was a great challenge to the countryside, coupled with the assurance that just as these two projects had come about without any outside aid, every one of the villages in the state which so desired, might realize ambitions of its own.

A Critique of Internationalism

MARGARET H. IRISH

ONE evening a few years ago, at a college then well-known for its radical tendencies, a group of girls had a party at a large table in the dormitory dining room. They wore red dresses or red ribbons. Almost everyone thought that it was a birthday party. Toward the end of dinner the girls rose and sang, with ceremony, the "International." The dining room became aware of the fact that it was the anniversary of the Russian revolution. After dinner the girls were quietly reprimanded. They belonged to the most radical element in college. The rest of us criticized the affair as an exhibition of bad taste. Besides that, we were extremely disturbed by the sinister connotation of the word *international*.

During the four years that have passed since the party, that group of very capable minds has scattered into interesting but not noticeably radical pursuits. One girl has done brilliant research in anthropology; one is getting a literary doctorate in France; another is on the staff of a respected peace foundation; another has published exquisite verse. For all of them the significance of the word *international* has changed as it has for their critics, who were presumably liberal, but in reality confused about political matters and conservative in an uninformed way.

Even as short a time ago as that, *internationalism* had a negative connotation. It implied a lack of something, a betrayal of one's soil and one's home and one's disinterested patriotic emotions. It meant a levelling of the values of nationalism. Internationalism was a formless, coastless sea into which all the unutilized rivers of potential nationalism poured.

At present, the word *international* has a positive ring. It enjoys good standing socially, economically, politically with reservations. It is sponsored by university presidents, poets and financiers. In the economic field internationalism is an abstract term for

a scientific actuality. Made respectable through force of circumstances, it is used in its purest meaning. Only the most callous provincial would associate internationalism now only with Red Revolution in a Red Russia. Yet even though the word is flung from eminently respectable pulpits every Sunday morning, there are some intelligent people who regard the current internationalism with reserve and distrust. They may not believe that it means flagrant disloyalty to one's country. They are, however, often certain that women are immersing themselves in it for sentimental reasons and that men who adopt its phraseology are in search of the expedient, ordinarily in business. Yet are those who call themselves internationalists justified in referring to all of their critics as unthinking and narrowminded?

IT is profitable to consider the import of the new internationalism. In the past there has existed an unstudied, necessary, *scientific* internationalism. Science has never been, and shows no evidence of becoming, entirely national. That is because it works in terms of the universal. It is obvious, however, that universals as conceptions or methods of manipulation are not confined to science. History is concerned with universals,—development, retrogression; expansion, disturbed equilibrium. Art in general, literature, music, are concerned with universals such as the belief in form, and the recognition of the emotions. Yet painting, sculpture, literature, music in some degree,—history, politics in their recorded forms, have remained distinctly national in character. One of the greatest fears of those who object to internationalism is lest the realm of the aesthetic, the field of expression become standardized.

It is true that the internationalization of these fields involves original sources of expression, both of the

individual and of the group, and might well lead to an exchange of types of expression which would amount to a modification of inherent values. A transfer of ideas resembling the wide-spread exchange of currency might take place, but with an effect rather derogatory than otherwise to the ideas. For instance, it is plain that for conveying ideas, language is ordinarily essential. In the international sphere there must be either a process of translation or an artificial international language. In spite of the vociferous advocates of the latter means of communication, I venture to say that a deliberately constructed language will never be of much use as a medium of expression except for technical and official matters.

Lyric and drama will not be written in a tongue that has not its roots in the ground. Translation will be used as long as separate languages exist. No one, I think, would be willing to claim that translation at its best is a satisfactory method of intercommunication. Shades of meaning, often of vast significance, are lost. Compare King James version of the Bible with the Latin and notice how many glories have been reduced to wan reflections; then imagine to yourself what translation has hidden of the Hebrew text.

To take an example of an individual typical not of a specific time, but of a distinct portion of the human race, it is only necessary to consider the work of Goethe in translation. A person who knows German can never be brought to admit that "Faust" retains all its majesty in French or English. "Werther" is saccharine and a bit foolish in English or French. To turn to opera, one needs only to hear a performance of "Valkyrie" or "Götterdämmerung" in French to feel keenly that the complete soul of Germany is not presented, and that a balance, an intentional harmony between the form and the content of expression, has been upset.

There was a more trivial example of what I mean in New York this winter. New York judged "The Captive" by its effect in English. Discounting the publicity the play received, I can bear witness to the fact that the translation made an enormous difference in the import of the play. I saw it in French and in English. I have sometimes heard the same plays done in Germany, in France and in America or England, and have been amazed at varying interpretations. After convincing myself that this was not due to the actors and their conceptions of the parts and the author's purpose, I have discovered that it was because of the natural differences in emphasis resulting from the languages themselves. A further pointed illustration: in Geneva, where verbal harmony should reign if no other kind, it has been found quite impossible to translate satisfactorily two or three terms and even whole clauses in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

SINCE some people feel that language distinctions are superficial and mechanical, it seems necessary to issue a manifesto when one believes that an individual language is an integral and desirable part of the makeup of a particular race or nation, or of a minority within a nation. I have said that there could be a transfer of cultural or moral or artistic values in intercommunication. If this does not result in a decisive rejection or at most a selective assimilation, there is apt to be such a fusion of characteristics as one may observe in Alsace. In the field of practical politics, in the maintenance of certain institutions, the Alsatians have retained an individuality. On the other hand, whenever expression of any sort is involved, the Alsatians show the effect of successive waves of French and German influence and the merging of the two. The total product in language and literature and art is conspicuously negative. This raises the question of whether or not ideas which cross national or racial barriers are going to cancel or modify one another to an alarming extent, thus leading to a sort of stagnation.

One wonders if, given the imperative need for communication among races and nations, given the eagerness of people for knowledge and contacts and for appraising the expression of others, it will be possible for internationalism and its attendant frames of mind to prevail without submerging admitted national excellencies. It is conceivable that the arts may become, as a result of the suppression of individuality in other fields, a plain of war for strong nationalist feeling which will thwart those who encourage a transfer of mental and spiritual values as well as the material. If internationalism should prevail intellectually, there might be an emotional cataclysm.

There is hope that political interpenetration cannot exist without its logical equivalent in other spheres of thought and action. Political internationalism seems fairly on the way to becoming, like science, impersonal, concerned with universals, contributory to enlightenment generally and not just in local limits. In time, history may become the record of economic and political internationalism. If internationalism catches at the emotions of humanity the arts may find opening up to them a vast, unexplored far-stretching way for expression to follow. And in the meantime, the cautious will still have an eye for the color of the ink with which history is written and for the non-musical undertones of the musician's work.

War

War is bestial stupidity.—Leonardo da Vinci.

Every European war is a civil war.—Voltaire.

It is inconceivable that human society does not rebel against that one word, war.—Maupassant.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

An Enlarging Book

THE *Glorious Company*, by Tracy Mygatt and Frances Witherspoon, belongs on that shelf toward which "Rejected Men" and "By an Unknown Disciple" so much attract us, among a good many less attractive attempts to draw the Gospel tale into the modern consciousness. It is written with tenderness, real human tenderness. The spirit of the whole of it is free from the curse of passing judgment. Toward none of the actors in the drama of the life and death of Jesus, or those extensions of that drama, the subsequent lives of the Apostles, there anywhere a single instance of the glib verdict pronouncing such a one a coward, such a one a renegade, which it is so painful to encounter either in life or books, but above all in works descriptive of Jesus of Nazareth. This humane spirit appears especially in the interpretation of Judas, a really searching, balanced, human, profoundly observing analysis. Just for this Judas I would have been glad to read the book. It is a tonic to all tolerance.

The Apostle Thomas, too, a peculiarly interesting figure by nature, becomes especially so at the hands of Miss Mygatt and Miss Witherspoon. I should think him the most companionable apostle, except St. Matthew, to thoughtful present-day people. The method of the book has been to interpret first the Gospel character, and then to throw round it all the legendary riches. I wonder whether these two things have been combined before in a single cover? It is a combination the habitual reader of this kind of book is likely to find very enlarging.

The style I cannot altogether like. It is, to my mind, too rushedly reverent. The personality of Jesus seems to me all the winsomer when faults in Him are treated a little more nearly as faults are treated in other men. In the enjoyment of the sensation of loyalty, I believe, lurks a subtle sweet poison.

But though this book seems to me to suffer from the mood of worship, I find in it a moral fineness which I can use to advantage in daily living. It has that greatest and most to be treasured of human traits, imaginative sensibility. I have found in it also the sense of infinity, emerging, as the sense of infinity does, in flashes, in gleams, half disbelieved in at the moment of their disappearance, yet never really gone; and valued more, in all their tenuousness, than all the rest of so-called reality. (Published by Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$3.)

SARAH N. CLEGHORN

The American Negro

A DISTINCT, scientific contribution to the understanding of America's race question is made by Professor Melville A. Herskovits in *The American Negro*. The author's thesis is that the American Negro is an amalgam coming from an ancestry in which are blended all of the principal elements of which humanity is composed—White, Negro and Mongoloid. From

this mixture there is being welded and is already discernible a definite physical type which may be called the American Negro. "It is not like any type from which it has come; it is not White, it is not Negro, it is not Mongoloid. It is all of them and none of them."

Professor Herskovits bases these conclusions upon a variety of physiological measurements which he made of a number of Negroes and a genealogical study of them. His last investigation of about 1,500 cases revealed that instead of the commonly held idea that 80 per cent of American Negroes are wholly African in descent, only a little over 20 per cent of the cases studied were unmixed. To verify these conclusions, Professor Herskovits measured a number of physical traits of the cases studied, such as the thickness of the lips, the width of the nostrils, the length of the legs, skin color, etc. Practically all these tests bore out the statements given in the genealogical study. The stability and low variability of these characteristics among the Negroes measured convinced Professor Herskovits that the American Negro is not at all like his South African ancestor, but that from an admixture of the diverse racial stocks—Caucasian, Negro and Mongoloid "has come a type which is homogeneous and little variable—a veritable new Negro, the American Negro."

Professor Herskovits also sheds some light upon the prevalent notions that the greater success of Mulattoes is due entirely to the superior white blood. An attempt to prove this by the intelligence tests for college entrance "showed that there was no relationship whatsoever." Professor Herskovits explains the Mulattoes' social and economic superiority to the fact that the Negro is living in a white man's culture which imposes all its standards upon him and because of this the less Negroid appearing Negro has an advantageous position in the Negro community for social and historical reasons.

The author also brings out the fact that popular impressions notwithstanding there is less mixture between the races today than ever before. To a considerable degree this is due to pressure from the Negro community itself. A general tendency for colored men to marry lighter women is also revealed in the study.

Professor Herskovits' little book should help to bring a little more intelligence into our generally prejudiced and ignorant discussions of America's leading problem. (Published by Alfred A. Knopf, \$1.75.)

ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

Where Race Meets Race

THE purpose of Earle E. Muntz in *Race Contacts* is "to make a thorough study of the conditions surrounding the contact of races of varying cultural development, and to discover the economic and social consequences of those adjustments or maladjustments ensuing as a result thereof." The particular contacts analyzed are those between Europeans, the American Indians, the Pacific Islanders, and the Africans. In these cases the highest and lowest cultures are involved and the fundamental effects are thus readily discoverable.

Concerning each of the groups named an inquiry is made as to how European civilization has influenced the moral status of the race, its struggle for existence, its lands, its labors, its political and social organizations, its education and its numerical survival.

The method has been confined to sifting the existing literature on "native" races. This literature is vast, but the author with prodigious labor has gleaned it for his materials. His findings are organized about a number of topics in such a way as to greatly illuminate them. There is, however, no evidence of first hand contacts with any of the "native" races concerned. This is a handicap that probably prevents a fair evaluation of all the factors involved. One indeed detects here and there what seems to be an uncritical use of sources. Moreover, throughout the book there prevails a certain doctrinaire method of treatment due to the influence of Keller's "Societal Evolution" with its economic determinism and Darwinian dogma.

Barring these limitations and whatever errors they entail, the work is highly meritorious. Just to sift the hundreds of books bearing on the problems and to assemble what facts they yield into a single well-organized volume is a noteworthy enterprise. The result is a treatise useful to all students of race problems.

The author thinks race contacts are essentially economic in nature; and since "native" races cannot and will not utilize their habitats efficiently, the only practical solution is that which has been evolved. That is, to put the colored races under white tutelage and thus prepare them to take a place in the modern industrial world.

Some will agree with the author's conclusion. Others will continue to question whether what has happened is justifiable either economically or ethically, for to describe the social process and pronounce it good settles no problems and least of all those of race contacts. (Published by the Century Co. \$3.75.)

NEWELL L. SIMS

Problems of the Pacific

UNDER this title the proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held at Honolulu last July, have been published. Here are more than 600 large pages of small type filled with factual data and opinions concerning the various countries of the Pacific. Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians, Japanese, Chinese, Koreans and citizens of the United States freely exchange ideas about immigration, population, tariffs, food supply, industrialism, imperialism, extra-territoriality, mandates, education, communications, foreign missions and a host of other interesting questions. Take a week off and live with these problems! (Published by The University of Chicago Press, \$3.)

K. P.

Oriental in the U. S.

AT the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Honolulu in 1925, "it was clear that the legislation discriminating against resident Orientals in the United States was regarded as a cause of misunderstanding and friction; but the Conference found itself without any substantial factual basis for its discussion of the questions involved." For this reason Professor R. D. McKenzie and Professor E. G. Mears gathered the facts together in preparation for the Conference in the summer of 1927. They did their work splendidly in *Oriental Exclusion* (McKenzie) and *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific*

Coast (Mears). The writer was not present at the Conference last summer, but these two volumes surely must have aided greatly in the consideration of the Oriental problem on the Pacific coast.

The first volume of 200 pages, including 24 pages of Tables and Graphs, giving statistics regarding the numbers of Orientals admitted to the United States, and a copy of the Exclusion Law of 1924, states the case for the exclusion policy and also gives considerable evidence as to the attitude of the Chinese and Japanese toward the policy.

The second book contains 526 pages, of which 96 are given over to Select Documents, and 44 pages to Tables and Graphs. A book that might easily have been dry reading except for students of race problems has been made exceedingly readable by the presentation of the views and experiences of different individuals and groups. It is good to see "The Survey of Race Relations" frequently quoted, since many felt that the findings of the Survey were not given sufficient publicity at the time it was made.

The wide circulation of these two volumes on the Pacific coast would do much to improve a situation that has been characterized by violent opinions but little information. (Both books published by the American Group of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 131 East 52nd St., New York City. \$1 and \$3.) K. S. BEAMER

A Knight of the Middle Order

GUSSIEV ORENBURGSKY, who comes from the Russian middle class, in *The Land of the Children*¹ has described the anguish of his class and its desperate endeavor to understand, explain and excuse the Russian Revolution. This somewhat laborious novel is significant for, together with "The Land of the Fathers" (1905), it builds a background of the twenty year period of Russian society out of which the U. S. S. R. has come. It suggests that humans and events are all "children" of what has gone before. In his confusion of mind and struggle of class he escapes from reality by creating a mystical future; a new "Holy Russia" in which the soul of his country will eventually fulfill its mission of steering the world away from its materialistic way of life. He sees a new harmony and the end of chaos. General Krassnoff's two volumes "From Double Eagle to Red Flag" and his novel "The Unforgiven" cover these same twenty years and are written from a similar point of view. They seem to be more realistic in that he does not attempt, as Orenburgsky does, to see a way out. All four of these are worth reading. A. A. S.

Let the People Vote on War

IT appears obvious, from the view of justice, that the public which suffers from and pays for war, should be allowed to decide whether or not war is desired. The project for a war referendum has been languishing of late, though during the decade preceding our entry into the World War it received a certain amount of attention from groups actively opposed to the pro-war policy. There is indeed abundant evidence that if the people had decided the question early in 1917, this country would never have entered the War; the War would have ended sooner, and with negotiated instead of a dictated peace; the iniquities of the Versailles Treaty would have been minimized; and the profound wisdom of Wilson's earlier cry for "peace without victory" conserved.

¹ Published by Longmans, Green. \$2.50.

ated in a world as well organized as now and freer from seeds of conflict. But the people did not have a chance to vote. They merely were offered a chance to obey orders.

Dr. Thomas Hall Shastid, in *Give the People Their Own War*, does not look backward as much as ahead. He alone has applied with the war referendum idea in its practical and theoretical implications, and in this book he has summed up his thesis together with answers to a multitude of questions and objections. Many people may find themselves surprised to discover that the war referendum is not a wholly simple scheme. But Dr. Shastid makes a better case for it than anyone in the country has before him; and he offers it as no panacea. In fact, his book is supplemented by an interesting pamphlet (10 cents) entitled *Just One Check on War*.

The one defect which is hardest to overcome is very serious, yet yet no valid argument against the referendum proposal. With popular decision pending, the war issue would promptly settle down to a race between public disinclination for war and the immense agencies of pro-war propaganda, especially potent if the administration in office wants the war. The great value, however, of the referendum consists in its transfer of public inertia and conservatism to the peace side. Without a referendum, it reposes automatically on the side of any conflict a particular government may wish to go ahead with.

Dr. Shastid's book is published at \$2, by George Wahr, publisher, Ann Arbor, Mich. The pamphlet may be ordered from Philip G. Stratton, Treasurer, 819 Tower Avenue, Superior, Wis. D. A.

The Russian Land

FOR centuries the Russian peasant has been seeking land. Names like Minin and Pozharski, Stenka Razin and Pugachev recall peasant rebellions for land. The Glorious Revolution of 1917 was the signal for a general seizure of lands, probably wholly independent of any direction or even propaganda from the bolsheviks. What the peasant is doing with and on his lands is told with great fascination by Albert Rhys Williams in the little volume *The Russian Land*. The battle of the old with the new in religion, in education, in justice, in medicine, in agriculture, among youth, is portrayed with great sympathy and understanding. Williams knows the country intimately and has written one of the best accounts of the new Russia yet to appear. (Published by The New Republic, \$1.) H. C. E.

Marx Into Lenin Plus Eastman

MAX EASTMAN, though a communist, has for ten years been a press agent for a new "science" of revolution. In *Marx and Lenin* he evaluates sympathetically the Marxian heritage, but becomes highly critical of its utopianism, its lack of synthesis with the new advances of biology and psychology, and its inadequate philosophical bases. In Lenin may be found a pattern of the modernized concepts which will give to revolution "purpose rather than a belief" and will make of the Marxist "a scientific engineer of revolution." Whether or not you can conceive of violent revolution as "scientific"—I for one can not—this book is decidedly valuable for perspective on the problems and attitudes of perhaps the world's greatest governmental and economic experiment. (Published by Albert and Charles Boni. \$2.) D. A.

A Russian Czar

IN *The Patriot*, Mr. Neumann has written the impressive story of the last days of the insane and sadistic despot, Czar Paul I of Russia. In eight crisply effective scenes Neumann presents the dramatic conspiracy which ended in the murder of the Czar. Neumann's drama is especially luminous in its interpretation of character: the mad Czar, with his pitiful premonitions of death; Pahlen, distressed at the idea of murder, yet admitting the necessity of ridding Russia of a monstrous tyrant; Alexander, a Hamlet weaker than his Shakespearean prototype; and the dog-like, faithful Stepan make the play a great deal more than a bloody page of Russia's chronicle. (Published by Boni and Liveright, \$2.)

COLEY B. TAYLOR

Brutality à la Civilization

AT this moment, while I am typing these lines, perhaps some poor devil is making one of those well-nigh impossible attempts to escape from the infamous penal colony in French Guiana which Blair Niles has portrayed so feelingly in her intensely dramatic book, *Condemned to Devil's Island*. If so, may the stricken creature benefit by my well-meaning, even though hardly righteous, prayers in his behalf.

Deep down in his heart he knows what the poet meant when he penned the line, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

Wherefore, let us especially recommend this volume to all those confident Christians who believe that nothing is so synonymous with genuine, big-hearted humanitarianism, as Civilization.

Let the preachers read the book. And the missionaries to Africa and China who come back to us with tales of unbelievable tortures and fiendish cruelties; also the people who write books about Mother India, and about rising tides of this and that. Mayhap they will stop to wonder whether savagery holds any horrors which Civilization does not exceed. (Published by Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3.)

ARTHUR HUFF FAUSET

British Liberals in the War

IN contrast to most other countries, the parade of death in 1914 was led by the Liberals in Great Britain and in the United States. The momentous developments in English foreign affairs since 1905 were guided by a Liberal Government. After the dramatic declaration of war attention very properly centered on the conduct of the Foreign Office and on Edward Grey. Sir Edward's record has been the subject of much debate. To some he was an unscrupulous, hypocritical trickster, to others, an idealist wholly lacking in vigor and initiative. Hermann Lutz has gathered the pertinent evidence in *Lord Grey and the World War*.¹ An astonishing barrage of footnotes coupled with the heavy artillery of the text is calculated to rout the defenders of the Foreign Minister. The book should be read as a complement to Viscount Grey's noncommittal "Twenty-five Years."

A related study is that of Irene Cooper Willis in *England's Holy War. A Study of English Liberal Idealism During the Great War*.² It shows from contemporary accounts the warm espousal of the slaughter as a "holy war" by English Liberals and their final disillusionment at Versailles. It is a tragic story of broken idols and shattered dreams. Will Liberals ever learn that war never advances their cause? (¹Published by Knopf, \$5. ²Published by Knopf, \$4.)

H. C. E.

**BETTER BOOKS for
ALL-ROUND READING**

America and the New Poland, by H. H. Fisher and Sidney Brooks. New York: Macmillan. 1928. 5½ x 9. 403 pages. \$3.50. Poland chiefly since 1914 with emphasis on the role played in it by the United States.

The Gangs of New York, by Herbert Asbury. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928. 6 x 9. 400 pages. \$4. Fascinating history of the hooligans, respectable and otherwise, who controlled New York in the last century. The "draft riots" during the Civil War command special interest.

Maker of Modern Arabia, by Ameen Rihani. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1928. 6 x 9. 370 pages. \$6. The story of Ibn Sa'oud and modern Arabia richly illustrated.

The Great American Band-Wagon, by Charles Merz. New York: John Day. 1928. 5½ x 8½. 263 pages. \$3. Accurate photographs of one side of America: its noise, cheapness, mob-spirit, bigger-and-better cult, etc. These seventeen snapshots are far from including all of America.

In the Beginning, by Norman Douglas. 1928. New York: The John Day Co. 5 x 8. 309 pages. \$2.50. A novel narrative of cosmic beginnings; a travesty on mankind, rich in sardonic humor, tolerant.

Black Valley, by Hugo Wast, translated by Herman and Miriam Hespelt. 1928. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 5½ x 8½. 302 pages. \$2.50. Wast's real name is Gustavo Martinez Zuviria and he is a lawyer. He has written at least five other novels. This one is chiefly interesting for its individuality of locale.

Mr. Hodge and Mr. Hozard, by Elinor Wylie. 1928. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 5 x 8. 256 pages. \$2.50. Decidedly delicate treatment of an early 19th century romantic poet beating against the stubborn brutalities of middle class England. The essential quality of Mr. Hozard is mercifully never described and stray tracks are never followed up. Other people are accusing Mrs. Wylie of writing of Shelley; we leave that to them.

The Business of the Supreme Court, by Felix Frankfurter and James M. Landis. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 6¼ x 9½. 349 pages. \$5. A fine, reliable and important story of the ruling commissars of the lawyers' soviet known as the government of the United States. Its origin, what it has done, what it does—"and how."

Creatures, by Padraic Colum. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 6¼ x 9½. 56 pages. \$2.50. Poems, in Colum's own whimsical fashion, of macaws, monkeys, condors, aquarium fish, and—well, there are those lovely if fantastic drawings by Boris Artzybasheff.

The Complete Sayings of Jesus, assembled and arranged in sequence by Arthur Hinds. Williamsburg, Mass.: D. H. Pierpont and Co., 1927. The King James version only; but it makes a useful pocket volume, and it is well printed, with enough to give the background of each incident.

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A Survey of the Parties

As an insert in the October number of THE WORLD TOMORROW will appear a detailed and comparative chart, *A Survey of the Parties*, by Devere Allen. Indicating the attitudes of all political parties, large and small, and all candidates on public questions, this chart will serve as a convenient and authentic record of the 1928 political situation in its many phases. A similar chart, which appeared prior to the 1924 election, was in great demand.

Advance orders for the October number are encouraged. Additional copies are suggested for use in libraries, schools, discussion groups and clubs.

The World Tomorrow

52 Vanderbilt Avenue

New York City

The Last Page

I HAVE always considered myself outspoken. This despite the obvious fact that in a lively discussion I recall no one who ever outspoke me. It is not strange that I should fail to agree with those who have condemned Mr. Claude G. Bowers for his acrimonious keynote speech at Houston. I not only believe everything Bowers said was justified, but I can think of a few epithets he forgot to apply. I can also think of a great many which could be applied with equal force to the party on whose behalf Brother Bowers balefully banged and blew up the Republicans. Nevertheless he did fairly well. Here are his gems, so far as I can cull them:

arrogant
autocracy
base
bedraggled
besmirched
brazen
bureaucracy
carnival of corruption
commercialization
cynical
dastardly
disgraceful
fake
gilded group
loot
mockery

perjury
pillage
pious platitudes
plunderbund
predatory
privilege
putrid
ruling caste
scandal
shameless
shocking
smutty
stealth
stench
stupidity
tainted

One thing is certain (so some have said); whatever else you may accuse the Republican spokesmen of, they maintain dignity and never descend to such wholesale vilification. Quit your kidding! Just listen to the clear and clarion cacophony of cautious Calvin Coolidge, speaking against the McNary-Haugen Bill. Here is what he called it—and why Bowers doesn't slink away in impotent rage for his failure to equal it is a mystery to me—in the presidential veto message:

amazing
arbitrary
autocratic
bad
bewildering
bureaucratic
camouflaged
coercive
cumbersome
dangerous
deceptive
delusive
discriminatory
drastic
entangled
excessive
extraordinary
fantastic
fallacious
fiat
flagrant
futile
ghastly
hazardous

impossible
incompatible
incredible
insidious
intolerable
menacing
objectionable
obnoxious
overwhelming
petty
precarious
prejudicial
preponderous
prodigious
prohibitory
repugnant
retaliatory
slovenly
unconstitutional
undesirable
undue
unworkable
vicious
wasteful

There was once a gifted boy who launched forth with a tremendous imprecatory vocabulary against another, who listened in dumb amazement at the flow of scorching castigation. When the torrent ceased, the victim of it finally rallied, albeit weakly, and after a few tortured stutters, voiced the crushing rejoinder, "Al o' dem t'ings you call me, *you* is." And that, dearly beloved brethren, sums up the arguments of the two major parties in these United States. And take it from me that whatever either one says about the other, the truth is infinitely worse. And both of them when engaged in the process of slamming the stuffed reputations out of each other, are invariably to be trusted for their conservatism of statement, and both are absolutely right—so far as they go. Here endeth the inculcation of the lesson.

* * *

THIS seems to be an appropriate moment to introduce the information that from England and Wales came recently a group of Congregational ministers, on a good-will pilgrimage to the Congregationalists of the United States. They were greeted by numerous dignitaries, among them the Governor of an Eastern state. This Governor welcomed them with appropriate remarks on freedom; held up the great ideal of humanity, *e pluribus unum*, and quoted from a poem by Dean Briggs of Harvard—President Lowell's University—ending, "The port of Freedom! Pilgrim heart, sail on!" And that Governor, ladies and gentlemen, was Alvan T. Fuller of Massachusetts, one of the executioners of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

* * *

FROM a California paper I clip what appears to me an example of the youthful gusto of modern American life, which Mr. Mencken often confuses with barbarian crassness. I change the names for the protection of these inventive parents, but otherwise print the birth announcement as it was privately sent out to friends:

The 1928 model of the Calkins runabout, John Gerry, arrived at 4:35 a.m. May 16, 1928. Mohair top and red body. Chassis length 20 inches. Full weight seven pounds. Engine hesitated when first turned over, sputtered a couple of times, and then choked. Later gave an example of perfect performance, and has operated continuously for over 12 hours without refueling. We shall be glad to have you call and inspect the latest model in motordom at our show rooms on College Way where the runabout will speak for itself. Signed, James and Marion Calkins, Inc.

* * *

LOCATED at 600 West 122nd St., New York City, is an institution whence fare forth every spring a considerable number of young people into the Christian ministry. Whether they are to go there this summer I leave to your own judgment. At any rate, the *New York Times* of May 29, 1928 solemnly announced, "83 to be graduated at Union Cemetery."

* * *

PERHAPS you are a follower after The Literary Guile, but I am thinking of starting a Boob-of-the-Month Club. I shall welcome nominations, with attendant evidential data as to the fitness of all nominees. No, it won't get my goat at all if you start off with

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Write at once to the President, your Senators and Congressmen to settle the difficulties in China, Nicaragua and Mexico by arbitration to prevent another World War and to endorse the Kellogg Peace Treaties.

Ask your organizations, labor, social and religious, to endorse a program of world peace and disarmament, and to send resolutions to their congressman to that effect.

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THE MENORAH JOURNAL is an excellent source for information on and criticism of the status of the East European minorities. Albert Jay Nock, Henry Noel Brailsford, and Herbert Solow are among those who recently contributed discussions of these problems. Letters from Warsaw, Kovno, Moscow and Bucharest supplement full-length articles on the fate of the Jewish minority groups.

THE MENORAH JOURNAL prints frequent articles and letters on the status of Jewry in Soviet Russia. Avrahm Yarmolinsky's authoritative and comprehensive study has just appeared. Among others who write on Russia for THE MENORAH JOURNAL are Louis Fischer, Louis Lozowick, Maurice G. Hindus, and Chaim Arlosoroff.

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Tear off

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